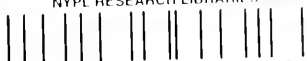


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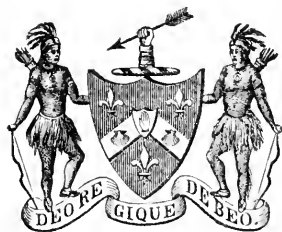
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THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, BART.,

BY
WILLIAM L. STONE.

VOL. II.



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THE LIFE AND TIMES
OF
SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, BART.

CHAPTER I.

1756.

The winter wore away in gloomy inactivity; its repose ^{CHAP.}_{I.} being unbroken, save by occasional skirmishing with the enemy in the vicinity of Crown Point, by Rogers and ^{1756.} his rangers. The expedition against Ticonderoga, owing to the unusual mildness of the season, was given up; and the French were again left to mature their plans of conquest unmolested.

On the seventeenth of March, De Levy, at the head of three hundred men, left Montreal, and gliding swiftly over the ice reached La Presentation. Here, exchanging their skates for snow shoes, they left the "ocean river," and passing lightly over the winter snows, through dense forests, and along paths known only to Indian hunters, suddenly appeared at the Oncida portage, and summoned Fort Bull to surrender. The garrison were not, however, taken wholly by surprise. Sir William Johnson, apprized of the approach of the enemy through Indian runners, had given the commander timely notice of his danger, and, at the same time, supplied him with a quantity of hand grenades and ammunition. The summons of De Levy was therefore answered by a shower of bullets. This so exasperated that officer, that he forthwith ordered a charge, and breaking down the gate, put all but thirty of the garrison to the sword. The French officer then burned the fort, and having destroyed forty thousand pounds of pow-

CHAP. der, returned with his prisoners into Canada with the loss
 I. of only three men.¹

1756.

While the French were thus penetrating into the very heart of the province, the savages had resumed their depredations along the frontier. The counties of Orange and Ulster especially, felt the ravages of the foe, but so tardy was the assembly, in taking measures for their protection, that it was severely censured in an article which appeared in one of the newspapers on the fifteenth of March. This seeming indifference of the assembly to the sufferings of the border, arose from no want of energy on the part of Governor Hardy. He had repeatedly, by special messages, implored the house for a force sufficient to protect the frontier, and had as often been put off with frivolous excuses.²

The explanation of this singular conduct is, that the assembly had sent up on the thirty-first of January two bills—one for the payment of the arrears due the officers of government, and another for meeting their own salaries during the ensuing year—in direct opposition to the demand of the crown. The latter bill, as might be foreseen, the governor refused to pass. Previous, however, to the sending up of these bills, Sir Charles had requested the levy of one thousand men for the expedition against Crown Point, and the house had even voted to raise that number; but now it refused to proceed farther until the governor had given his decision upon the two bills then in his hands. Sir Charles delaying his assent, the assembly artfully adjourned from week to week, until his pleasure should be known. The attack, however, upon it in the public print, hastened its action; and on the twentieth of March, it sent up a bill for raising for the Crown Point expedition and for the defense of the western frontier, seventeen hundred and fifteen men.³ This bill,

¹ Journal from Oct. 1755 to June 1756. *Paris Doc.* Also *Quebec His. Col.*

² Smith.

³ Smith.

after lying for eleven days with the council was passed—^{CHAP. I.} Mr. Kennedy alone dissenting, on the ground that it encroached upon the royal prerogative, inasmuch as the particular services of the troops were specified, whereas they should of right be left to the disposition of the governor.¹ Meanwhile the money bill, which had passed the council under the protest of Mr. Colden and Mr. Smith, was still in the governor's hands. In this posture of affairs, Mr. De Lancey intimated to the executive that provided the money bill was passed, the one for the quota might be so altered as to meet the objections of the council. By this course an assurance having been obtained from Sir Charles that the bill for the payment of the public debts should be passed, the house privately took back the quota bill and so amended it, that the council passed it on the thirty-first of March; and the next day, the governor yielding to the exigency of affairs on the frontier, passed both bills.²

Thus was again achieved a victory of the people over the crown on privilege; and one also which was lasting. Henceforward the ministry gave up insisting upon an indefinite support; and in the fall session the assembly had the satisfaction of hearing from the governor himself that the crown had virtually repealed its instructions to Sir Danvers Osborn, which had caused such intense indignation.³

Although hostilities upon land and sea had been carried on between England and France for the last two years, yet the vascillating and imbecile Newcastle administration had continued to cling, with a tenacity that is really astonishing, to the hope that peace might be established on an amicable footing. On the other hand, the French ministry, scarcely believing that England would dare to hasten a rupture that

¹ Manuscript council minutes.

² *Letter to a Nobleman,*

³ Smith.

CHAP. I. would so endanger her Hanoverian possessions, continued
 } to substantiate by force of arms, the claims of France in
 1756. America. At length even the English ministry, perceiving
 that nothing but the sword would unravel the complications
 which had arisen, issued upon the seventeenth of May, a
 formal declaration of war, which was responded to by
 France in a counter declaration in June.

As a precursor to avowed hostilities, the Earl of Loudon was appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, in place of Governor Shirley, who was recalled. At the same time the governorship of Virginia was given to the earl with full power to promote a union of the colonies. The same want of vigor, however, still characterized all the plans of the ministry; and notwithstanding they had been informed of the plan of this year's campaign, and of the necessity of an early beginning, if it would be successful, yet it was not until late in April that Major General Abercrombie, who was placed second in command, sailed from England with General Webb and two battalions. Loudon, also, infected with the same spirit of procrastination, continued to busy himself about nothing, until the transports, artillery and other munitions of war should be in readiness; finally sailing the latter part of May, leaving them behind.

In the meantime, although it was known in April that Shirley had been superseded in the command of the forces, yet that governor, clinging tenaciously to the semblance of power, arrived in Albany on the seventh of May, and in his usual bustling manner continued his preparations for the ensuing campaign. Having called a council of war on the twenty-fifth, he laid before it the minutes of the council of December last, and proceeded to give his views respecting the manner in which the approaching campaign should be conducted. Although Shirley was deficient in execution, yet in theory he was generally correct; and the plan which he marked out, and the suggestions which he made, was, it must be confessed, eminently

judicious. It was of the greatest importance, he thought, ^{CHAP. 1.} that the portages between Schenectady and Oswego, by way of Wood creek, should be protected by forts; and that four companies should be raised to act as scouts along the portages, and thus keep the communication open between Albany and the fort on Lake Ontario. Sir Charles Hardy also laid before his privy council information of the strength of the enemy, lately obtained from a French prisoner taken by Captain Rogers.¹ From this, it was deemed impracticable, with the troops at their command, to carry on the expedition against Crown Point and Niagara simultaneously; and the council therefore recommended that a junction of the troops, destined for each expedition, should be effected, and that all the available force should at once be concentrated upon Crown Point. The council moreover approved of the governor's plan for fortifying the portages between Schenectady and Oswego, and also declared in favor of a fort which, by being located at South Bay, would protect Fort Edward.² 1756.

The command of the expedition against Crown Point was entrusted to General Winslow; but that general, upon reviewing all his available troops, found them to be only seven thousand—a force which he declared wholly inadequate to the success of the undertaking. The expedition being thus brought to a stand, until the expected reinforcements from England should enable the troops to march with a prospect of success, Governor Shirley improved this interval by throwing into Schenectady and the different magazines between that place and Oswego, large quantities of provisions; hoping that upon the arrival of reinforcements, he might be able to prevail on his successor to undertake the western expedition. The arrival, however, on the twenty-fifth of June, of General Abercrombie with the troops, while it supplied the deficiency of men, soon dissipated any hopes which might have been

¹ Manuscript letter: Captain Rogers to Sir William Johnson.

² *Letter to a Nobleman.*

CHAP. raised respecting a vigorous prosecution of the war.
 I. Instead of improving the opportunity presented by the
 1756. preparations of Shirley and the anxiety of the troops to push forward, the newly arrived general, vain of his authority, and anxious to show his contempt for the Provincials, began his American career by sowing discord among the troops. His first act was to announce that all the regular officers were to be over those in the provincial service of the same rank. Nothing could have been better calculated to mar that harmony which was so essential to the success of the enterprise, than such an announcement. Its effects were soon seen. Animosities arose in the army; many of the men deserted; and some of the officers were on the point of throwing up their commissions and retiring from the service. Finally, on being told by General Winslow that any attempt to enforce such an obnoxious rule would be productive of the most disastrous consequences, the general yielded the point; it being agreed that the regulars should remain and do garrison duty in the forts, while the Provincials under their own officers should advance against the enemy.

But it was no part of the general's purpose to advance. The little brief authority, with which he had been invested, was too dear to be relinquished so soon. Scarcely were the difficulties between the regular and provincial officers adjusted, when instead of yielding to the judicious counsel of Shirley, and hastening to Oswego in the boats which the latter had prepared, he ordered his troops to be quartered upon the citizens of Albany. This order at once excited intense disgust. The inhabitants repenting, like the doves in the fable, of their ever having sought the protection of the hawk, begged that they might be delivered from such protectors. "Go back again," said the mayor of Albany, in behalf of the citizens, to the troops; "go back, for we can defend our frontiers ourselves." But Abercrombie was not to be shaken from his purpose. The troops, numbering ten thousand men, were billeted upon

the inhabitants; and the general, in busy inactivity, frittered away the summer in digging ditches, and building a useless stockade around the city. CHAP.
I
1756.

Meanwhile an important council was holding at Onondaga between Sir William Johnson and the Confederate and Delaware Indians. Although one of the objects, which the Baronet had in view in calling the council at this time, was to induce as many Indians as possible to join the expedition against the French posts on Lake Ontario, yet his chief one was, to induce the Delawares to lay down the hatchet, which they had taken up against the whites in Pennsylvania.

It has been already seen that the Delawares had begun to waver under the smarting of ancient grievances, and the artful appliances and appeals of the French; and with the fall of General Braddock and the destruction of his army, had revolted in a body and gone over to the common enemy. They were immediately induced to change their relations, by the strong assurances of the latter, that the war was in fact undertaken for the purpose of driving away the English, and restoring the red man once more to the full and entire possession of the country of which he had been robbed.¹

The sanguinary war, upon the borders both of Pennsylvania and Virginia, which immediately followed the secession of the Delawares still continued; and if they were "women," in the popular Indian acceptation, before, they wielded no feminine arms in the new attitude, they had so suddenly assumed. Their blows fell thick and fast; their hatchets were red; and their devastations of the frontier settlements were frequent and cruel. The storm was as fearful as it was unexpected to the Pennsylvanians;

¹ Chapman. See also an interesting journal of Christian Frederick Post, while on a pacific mission to the Delawares and Shawnees, which has been preserved in the appendix to Proud. Also manuscript letter of Sir William Johnson.

CHAP. I.
 1756. for however much familiarized Virginia and most of the other colonies had become to savage warfare, Pennsylvania, until now, had been comparatively and happily exempt. For more than seventy years a strict amity had existed between the early English settlers and their successors in Pennsylvania and New Jersey,¹ and the breaking forth of the war created the greater consternation on that account.

It appears that the Quakers,—a people who have at all times manifested a deep solicitude for the welfare of the Indians, and whose benevolent principles and gentle manners have, in all critical emergencies, more than anything else won the red man's confidence—had previously discovered some uneasiness among the Indians, connected with certain land questions, in respect of which they were not quite clear that injustice had not been done their red brethren of the forest. While, therefore, the government was making such preparations as it could for the common defense, great and persevering efforts were made, under the urgent advisement of the Quakers, to win back the friendship of the Delawares, and also that of the Shawnese. It was the opinion of these good people, as has already been intimated, that in their revolt the Delawares had been moved by wrongs, either real or fancied—and if the latter, not the less wrongs to their clouded apprehensions,—in regard to some of their lands. A pacific mission to the Delawares and Shawnese was therefore recommended and strongly urged by them, and the project was acceded to by Governor Morris. Difficulties meantime increased, and the ravages of the frontiers were continued, until the war path flowed with blood. The influence of Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations with the Delawares, was invoked by the Pennsylvanians, and Governor Morris with the governor of New York, added his solicitations to the same purpose.² The parent government also urged the representatives of the Proprietaries to renew their

¹ Proud.

² Governor Hardy to the lords of trade, 10th May, 1756.

Indian negotiations, and if possible arrive at a better understanding with them, by defining explicitly the lands that had been actually purchased.¹

CHAP.
I.
1756.

It was with a view of influencing the Six Nations to interpose with their dependants, the Delawares, that in the early part of February, the Baronet summoned the Six Nations to a conference at Mount Johnson. The Confederates were at first indisposed to interfere with the affairs of the southern Indians. Their deliberations were, also, according to Indian ceremonial, slow. It was not, therefore, until the end of February, that the influence of the Baronet prevailed; the Six Nations through Red Head, their speaker, solemnly promising to use their utmost endeavors "to put an end" as they expressed it—"to the unhappy proceedings of their nephews and dependants."²

The result was, that several chiefs of the Confederacy, at the urgent solicitation of the Baronet, went as delegates from their people to the Delawares early in the spring. This mission was successful. The Delawares repented of their conduct, and with the most solemn asseverations, promised "never again to hurt the hair of any Englishman;" proposing at the same time a conference at Onondaga, naming even the day. Fearing, however, that the southern Indians might be dilatory, the Baronet, before setting out, sent a messenger to the Onondaga castle to ascertain if they had been punctual to their engagement. The messenger reported on his return, that a full delegation from the south had not yet arrived, but brought at the same time such pressing solicitations from the Onondaga sachems to come up and meet them, that Sir William, although in poor health—the consequence of his wound received at Lake George, from which he had not yet recovered—resolved at once to undertake the journey.

Just as the Baronet was upon the point of setting out,

¹ Chapman.

² Minutes of the council at Mount Johnson, Feb. 1756.

CHAP. I. and after he had, as he supposed, arranged everything for
 1756. } an amicable adjustment of all difficulties, he received
 intelligence that the governor of Pennsylvania had issued
 a formal declaration of war against the Delawares and
 Shawnese, and had offered a reward for their scalps. Sim-
 ultaneously with this news, the Half King and several other
 chiefs of the Confederates, who had lately visited Philadel-
 phia, accompanied by Colonel Claus and Andrew Montour,
 at this time Sir William's secretary and interpreter, for the
 purpose of an amicable settlement with the Delawares,
 returned to Mount Johnson.¹ They reported that Governor
 Morris had acquainted them with his declaration of war,
 and had given them a war belt to present to the Six Nations
 in his name, at the same time allowing the Quakers to
 offer them a peace belt to be also given to their people.
 These contradictory measures, together with these opposite
 belts, the Half King reported to Sir William, at a small
 conference of the Six Nations held at Mount Johnson,
 expressing his surprise that the same province should
 authorize such contradictions.²

When the Indian relations were in such a critical state,
 this declaration of war was, on the part of Governor Morris,
 decidedly ill-advised. The Baronet not having been con-
 sulted, and having arranged his plans predicated on an
 amicable adjustment of difficulties, was at a loss what
 course to adopt. The embarrassing situation in which he
 was placed, is evident from the following extract of a letter
 written by him, on the receipt of this intelligence, to
 Governor Shirley :

“ Sir Charles Hardy writes me that Governor Morris,
 by the public prints had declared war against the Delaware
 and Shawnese Indians. I am surprised that Mr. Morris,

¹ Memorial of the Quakers already cited.

² Johnson to the lords of trade, 28th May, 1756.

It is true that the council of Governor Morris, perceiving the absurdity
 of these two belts, countermanded the peace-belt of the Quakers, but
 not until it was too late to prevent much mischief.

whose province was so much interested in the result of the Six Nations' embassy to those Indians, who was a principal in it and to whom I sent a copy of my late proceedings, would not wait to hear the effects of this embassy, before he entered into this consequential measure. CHAP.
I.
175g.

*“What will the Delawares and Shawnese think of such opposition and contradiction in our conduct? How shall I behave at the approaching meeting at Onondaga, not only to those Indians, but to the Six Nations? These hostile measures which Governor Morris has entered into, is throwing all our schemes into confusion, and must materially give the Six Nations such impressions, and the French such advantages to work against us, that I tremble for the consequences. I think without consulting your excellency, without the concurrence of the other neighboring provinces, without my receiving previous notice of it, this is a very unadvised and unaccountable proceeding of Governor Morris. I cannot but be of opinion that if terms of good accommodation can be brought about, that in the present critical situation of affairs, it will be far more eligible than to enter into hostilities against these Indians, especially as a few days will determine what part we have to choose. I hope your excellency will take this interesting affair into your consideration, and make use of such interposition as you shall judge necessary thereupon.”*¹

On the receipt of this letter, Governor Shirley wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania, enclosing the letter from which the above extract is taken; and though he was unsuccessful in effecting a withdrawal of the declaration, yet it was so far modified as to include only those “implacable and obstinate enemies, and not against any that now are or hereafter may be disposed to hearken to the Six Nations in our favor.”²

In the face of these untoward circumstances, the Baronet

¹ Manuscript letter: Johnson to Shirley, 24th April, 1756.

² Manuscript letter: Richard Peters, by order of the council, to Shirley, 6th May, 1756.

CHAP. I. set out on the third of June for the congress at Onondaga,
 1756. arriving there upon the fifteenth. His arrival was none too early to defeat the machinations of the French. Early in the spring there were indications of a growing disaffection among the Six Nations, arising from the want of vigor which had so characterized the military operations of the English. The wretched condition of the important garrison at Oswego; the thinly garrisoned forts at the great carrying place and Lake George; and the regiments lying idle at Albany and Schenectady, were all pointed out by the Confederates as indicative of weakness and bad management.¹ These manifestations of ill-feeling, the French did not fail to take advantage of; and on the Baronet's arrival at Onondaga, he found his suspicions—that the Confederates were yielding to the arts of the French—fully confirmed. To such an extent had the disaffection spread, that it required a variety of arguments, and his utmost influence “to expel the French poison and reanimate them to the English interest.”² His efforts, however, were so far successful, that the Six Nations expressed themselves as sincerely disposed to second any *vigorous* attempts which might be made against the French. They also engaged to set on foot negotiations among their allies to prevail upon them to unite in favor of the English interest.³ But far the most important result—considering the jealousy which the Indians ever entertained towards any movement tending to a permanent occupation of their land—was their permission to lay out a road to Oswego through their country, and to build a fort at Oswego Falls. The condition, however, upon which the latter favor was obtained was, that in case an accommodation with France should ensue, the fort should either be utterly destroyed or delivered over into the hands of the Six Nations.⁴

These important points being gained, the attention of

¹ Johnson to the lords of trade, 28th May, 1756.

² Johnson to the lords of trade, 17th July, 1756.

³ Johnson to the lords of trade last cited.

⁴ Idem.

the Baronet was next turned to effecting a treaty of peace ^{CHAP. I.} with the Delawares and Shawnese. Owing to his continued ill health, the congress was adjourned on the fifth of July to Mount Johnson ; and on the seventh he again met the chiefs of the Six Nations, together with the kings of the Delaware and Shawnese Indians. During this treaty the Shawnese chieftain denied that either himself or his followers had ever warred upon the Southern provinces, though he admitted that some of his nation on the Ohio had been seduced from their allegiance by the French—to which breach of faith, however, he protested that his influence and that of his chief men, had always been opposed. The Delaware king was still more frank in his admissions. He confessed that many of his people had been deceived and caught by the snares of the French, but said that a message which he had sent to them the last winter in consequence of the delegation from the Six Nations, had opened their eyes. He then in the most solemn manner renewed the covenant chain of peace and friendship, and with the Shawnese king accepted the war belt, at the same time singing and dancing the war song. The treaty was then concluded by Sir William “taking off from the Delawares the petticoat”—or in other words, declaring that, in consideration of the solemn promises which they had made, they were to be henceforward considered by all their English brethren as *men* and no longer as *women*. The Baronet having then decorated the necks of the Delaware and Shawnese kings with a medal, the council was broken up on the twelfth of July with the favorite war dance, which lasted the greater portion of the night.¹

These pacific dispositions on the part of the Baronet were so far attended with success, that through his influence two Indian councils were held at Easton, in the summer and autumn of this year. The first, however, was so small, that it broke up without proceeding to business. The

¹ Minutes of council at Mount Johnson, July 1756.

CHAP. I. second, which was holden in November, was more successful, although it appears to have been confined to the Delaware^{1756.} wares of the Susquehanna—those of that nation who had previously emigrated to the Ohio, and the Shawnese, not being represented. The council was conducted by Governor Denny on the part of the colony, and by Teedyuscung, the Delaware king, on behalf of the Indians; and he appears to have managed his cause with the energy of a man and the ability of a statesman. If his people had cowered like cravens before the rebukes of the Six Nations, in the council of 1742, their demeanor was far otherwise upon this occasion.¹ Having been relieved of the petticoat by Sir William, they had no intention of again resuming it. By joining the Shawnese and the French, moreover, they had thrown off the vassalage of the Six Nations, and had become an independent as well as a belligerent power, and they now met the pale faces, and a deputation of the Six Nations who were present, with the port and bearing of men.

On being requested by the governor to state the causes of their uneasiness and subsequent hostilities, Teedyuscung enumerated several. Among them were the abuses committed upon the Indians in the prosecution of their trade, being unjustly deprived of portions of their lands; and the execution, long before, in New Jersey, of a Delaware chief, named Wakahelah, for, as the Indians alleged, accidentally killing a white man—a transaction which they said they could not forget. When the governor desired

¹ At this council, Teedyuscung insisted upon having a secretary of his own selection appointed, to take down the proceedings in behalf of the Indians. The demand was considered extraordinary, and was opposed by Governor Denny. The Delaware chief, however, persisted in his demand, and it was finally acceded to. Teedyuscung therefore appointed Charles Thompson, master of the Free Quaker School in Philadelphia, as the secretary for the Indians. This was the same Charles Thompson who was afterwards secretary to the old congress of the revolution—who was so long continued in that station—and who died in the year 1824, aged 94 years—full of years and honors. The Indians adopted him and gave him a name signifying—"The Man of Truth."

specifications of the alleged wrongs in regard to their lands, Teedyuscung replied:—"I have not far to go for an instance. This very ground that is under me, (striking it with his foot,) was my land and inheritance; and is taken from me by fraud. When I say this ground, I mean all the land lying between Tohiccon creek and Wyoming, on the river Susquehanna. I have not only been served so in this government, but the same thing has been done to me as to several tracts in New Jersey, over the river." When asked what he meant by *fraud*, Teedyuscung gave him instances of forged deeds, under which lands were claimed which the Indians had never sold. "This," said he, "is fraud." "Also, when one chief has land beyond the river, and another chief has land on this side, both bounded by rivers, mountains and springs, which cannot be moved, and the Proprietaries, ready to purchase lands, buy of one chief what belongs to another. This likewise is fraud." He said the Delawares had never been satisfied with the conduct of the latter since the treaties of 1737, when their fathers sold them the lands on the Delaware. He said that although the land sold was to have gone only "*as far as a man could go in a day and a half from Nashamony creek,*" yet the person who measured the ground did not *walk* but *ran*. He was, moreover, as they supposed, to follow the winding bank of the river, whereas he went in a straight line. And because the Indians had been unwilling to give up the land as far as the walk extended, the governor then having the command of the English, sent for their cousins the Six Nations, who had always been hard masters to them, to come down and drive them from their land. When the Six Nations came down, the Delawares met them at a great treaty held at the governor's house in Philadelphia, for the purpose of explaining why they did not give up the land; but the English made so many presents to the Six Nations, that their ears were stopped. They would listen to no explanation; and Canasatego had moreover abused them, and called them women. The Six Nations

CHAP. I. had, however, given to them and the Shawnese, the lands
 upon the Susquehanna and Juniata for hunting grounds,
 1756. and had so informed the governor; but notwithstanding
 this, the whites were allowed to go and settle upon those
 lands. Two years ago, moreover, the governor had been
 to Albany to buy some land of the Six Nations,¹ and had
 described their purchase *by points of compass*, which the
 Indians did not understand, including lands both upon the
 Juniata and the Susquehanna, which they did not intend
 to sell. When all these things were known to the Indians,
 they declared they would no longer be friends to the Eng-
 lish, who were trying to get all their country away from
 them. He however assured the council that they were
 nevertheless glad to meet their old friends the English
 again, and to smoke the pipe of peace with them. He
 also hoped that justice would be done to them for all the
 injuries they had received.”²

The council continued nine days, and Governor Denny
 appears to have conducted himself with so much tact and
 judgment, as greatly to conciliate the good will of the
 Indians. By his candid and ingenuous treatment of them,
 as some of the Mohawks afterwards expressed it, “he put
 his hand into Teedyuscung’s bosom, and was so successful
 as to draw out the secret, which neither Sir William John-
 son nor the Six Nations could do.”³ The result was a
 reconciliation of the Delawares of the Susquehanna with
 the English, and a treaty of peace, upon the basis that
 Teedyuscung and his people were to be allowed to remain
 upon the Wyoming lands, and that houses were to be built
 for them by the Proprietaries.⁴ Teedyuscung and a depu-

¹ Alluding to the grand congress of 1754.

² Manuscript minutes of the council certified to by Richard Peters, in the author’s possession. Chapman has also been followed, who has given the most particular account of this council with which I have met. He, however, mistook in supposing it to be a general council, and that the Ohio Indians were included in the peace.

³ Memorial of the Quakers to Governor Denny.

⁴ Journal of Christian Frederick Post—note by Froud.

tation of his chief men, were moreover to attend Sir Wil-^{CHAP}liam's council fire and communicate everything in order I.
 "to obtain confirmation and take advice as to their future 1756.
 conduct." There were, however, several matters left unadjusted, although the governor desired that every difficulty should then be discussed, and every cause of complaint, as far as he possessed the power, be removed. But Teedyuscung replied that he was not empowered, at the present time, to adjust several of the questions of grievance that had been raised, nor were all the parties interested, properly represented in the council. He therefore proposed the holding of another council in the following spring at Lancaster. This proposition was acceded to; and many Indians collected at the time and place appointed. Sir William Johnson dispatched a deputation of the Six Nations thither, under the charge of Colonel Croghan, the Deputy Superintendent of the Indians; but for some reason unexplained, neither Teedyuscung nor the Delawares from Wyoming attended the council, though of his own appointment. Colonel Croghan wrote to Sir William, however, that the meeting was productive of great good in checking the war upon the frontier; and in a speech to the latter delivered by the Senecas in June following, they claimed the credit, by their mediation, of the partial peace that had been obtained. The conduct of Teedyuscung on that occasion was severely censured by Sir William in a speech to the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas; and the latter were charged by the Baronet to take the subject in hand, and "talk to him," and should they find him in fault, "make him sensible of it."¹

While Abererombie was loitering in shameful idleness at Albany, a brilliant exploit had been performed by Colonel Bradstreet. The latter, weary of the inactivity which characterized every department of military operations, set out at the end of spring with forty companies of bateau-

¹ Manuscripts of Sir William Johnson.

CHAP. I. men and two hundred provincial troops, for the relief of
1756. Oswego. Appreciating fully the importance of that post, the French, under De Villiers, had encamped, near the end of May, at the mouth of Sandy creek, on the shore of Lake Ontario, whence detachments could be sent out to infest the portages and water passes leading to the fort. In the face, however, of all these obstacles, Bradstreet with his men penetrated amid innumerable hardships the wilderness, and safely passing down Oneida lake and Oswego river, threw into the fort six months provision for five thousand men. Hearing that an ambush had been prepared for him on his return, with the cautiousness which was to him a second nature, he divided his forces into three companies, and ordered them to keep together as near as practicable. The result proved the wisdom of these precautions; for scarcely had he advanced up the Oswego river nine miles, when on the third of July he was attacked at the head of the first division of three hundred men, by the enemy nine hundred strong, who suddenly rising from their cover, poured their fire into his front. Although the attack was as unexpected at the moment as it was well-concerted, yet Colonel Bradstreet's presence of mind did not desert him. Hastening with six men to an island near at hand to prevent his being galled by a cross fire, he not only maintained his ground against four times his number, but being reinforced shortly after by six more, compelled an additional force of forty of the enemy to retire in great disorder. A third party of seventy men were also forced to retreat, gnashing their teeth in impotent fury at being thus baffled by such a handful of men. In this manner the colonel kept the enemy at bay for more than an hour, until the boatmen, who were in the rear, had landed in good order, without the loss of a man. Four hundred French and Indians were now seen attempting to ford the river a mile above, with the intention of surrounding the party. Anticipating this movement, the colonel leaving the island, marched up the river, and ordering two of his

captains to protect the bateau men in the rear, attacked ^{CHAP. I.} the French with such fury, as to compel them to leave a thick pine swamp, in which they had ambushed, and fly ^{1756.} in the greatest confusion. The victory was complete; those of the enemy who did not escape to the forest, being either drowned or slain by the sword.

Having learned from some of his prisoners that a large force was already on its way to invest Oswego, Colonel Bradstreet lost no time in hastening to Albany, where he reported himself to General Abercrombie on the thirteenth of July. It was in vain, however, that he informed the latter of the contemplated attack upon Oswego, and represented, in view of the weak condition of its garrison, the importance of its immediate reinforcement. To no purpose was it that Sir William Johnson told him that even his influence with the Confederates would be of no avail, should the army remain inactive and Oswego be lost. The general contented himself with merely ordering General Webb to hold himself in readiness to march with one regiment; and dismissing four hundred of the bateau men to their homes, refused to move until the arrival of Lord Loudoun.

While a council of war was sitting at the great carrying-place to answer an *important* question propounded by General Abercrombie,—“what effect a junction of the king’s troops, in the campaign against Crown Point, would have upon his majesty’s service,”¹ Captain Rogers had performed a splendid feat upon Lake Champlain—a feat which if not as brilliant as Colonel Bradstreet’s, fully equals it in romantic and daring courage.

On the twenty-eighth of June, that renowned ranger embarked, with fifty men in five whale-boats, from the head of Lake George, and landed on one of the picturesque

¹ Manuscript letter: Surgeon Williams to his wife; dated at Fort Edward.

“It appears to me that the settling ranks among ourselves may (if gone into according to some gentlemen’s minds) be campaign enough for one year”—Manuscript letter just cited.

CHAP. islands that adorn that lake. The next day his men landed
I. their boats some five miles distant from the island, and
1756. carrying them six miles over a mountain, reëmbarked on
Lake Champlain in South bay. Passing down the lake,
reconnoitering as they went, rowing by night and lying
concealed by day, they successively passed Ticonderoga
and Crown Point—sailing down some thirty miles below
the latter fort. While hiding during the day, many boats
—sometimes a hundred at a time—and two large schooners
passed their concealment, some of the boats sailing so near
that they could distinctly hear the orders given by the
officers in command.

On the evening of the seventh of July, the scouts whom
Captain Rogers had sent out for a reconnoissance, reported
that a schooner was lying at anchor a mile below their
place of ambush. The rangers immediately lightened their
boats and were preparing to board her, when two lighters
manned by twelve men, were descried coming up the lake.
Waiting until they had approached sufficiently near to the
shore, the rangers suddenly showed themselves and fired,
at the same time hailing the crews and offering quarter.
Without responding to this offer, the boatmen, hastily
turning their prows toward the opposite shore, attempted
to escape. In this movement, however, the rangers antici-
pated them; for leaping into their light whale-boats, they
gave chase, and soon captured the vessels, killing three of
the crew and wounding two, one of whom shortly after
died of his wounds. Not one escaped to carry tidings.
The vessels with their cargoes were then sunk, the latter
consisting chiefly of grain, wine and brandy. By this
daring achievement in the very heart of the enemy's
country, the garrison of Crown Point were deprived of
eight hundred bushels of flour, and a large quantity of
money. The destruction of the cargoes being completed,
the brave ranger and his equally gallant band, drew up
their whale-boats on the shore, and concealing them in the
brush-wood, marched through the woods on the west side

of the lake, reaching Fort William Henry with their prisoners on the fifteenth of July.¹

CHAP.
I.
1756.

The arrival of the viceroy on the twenty-ninth of July at Albany, caused the blood in many a provincial heart to course more rapidly with high expectation ; for now surely their “wearisome uncertainty” was at an end ? Not so. The narrow mind of Loudoun refused to grasp the exigencies of the occasion. What mattered it to him that the frontiers of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York were desolated by the tomahawk, or that Oswego was lost or saved, if the rules of military punctilio had been violated ? While, therefore, the garrison in the lone fortress on the wilderness shore was straining its vision inland for the expected succor, or in despair, saw the sails of the enemy approaching nearer and nearer, Loudoun had called the New England officers into his presence, and gravely demanded if they and their men were willing to act with the regulars, and to submit to the king’s commander-in-chief, as his majesty had directed.¹ To this ill-timed question, the New England officers, with a noble appreciation of the critical state of affairs, answered that they would cheerfully obey his lordship, and act in harmony with his majesty’s forces ; at the same time, as their men had enlisted under the express stipulation of being commanded solely by their own officers, they begged that he would allow them to act separately “so far,” at least, “as might be consistent with his majesty’s service.”² To this, the viceroy acceded, and harmony was again restored. Preparations were accordingly begun—certainly to reinforce Oswego ? By no means, but for a descent upon Ticonderoga and Crown Point ! General Winslow was therefore sent on with a large body of Provincials to occupy Forts Edward and William Henry as a preparatory step ;

¹ Rogers’s journal : Manuscript letters of Surgeon Williams to his wife.
Grahame

² Holmes.

CHAP. I. and the heavy artillery was already on its way to the carrying-place, when suddenly intelligence was received 1756. disconcerting all of these plans.

On the tenth of August the Marquis de Montcalm, who had succeeded Baron Dieskau in the command of the French forces in America, invested Oswego. Having closed the harbor with two large vessels of war, and cut off by means of a large body of Canadians, all communication with Albany, the general opened his trenches upon Fort Ontario, at midnight of the twelfth. The fire was returned by the garrison with spirit until evening of the following day, when having exhausted their shells and ammunition, they spiked their guns and retreated across the river into the old fort. Notwithstanding the deserted fort was reported to be mined, yet such was the enthusiasm of the French soldiers, that they immediately rushed into it and turned the guns that were yet serviceable against Fort Oswego, on the opposite bank of the river. Colonel Mercer, the commander, a man of courage and experience, was killed on the thirteenth, by a cannon ball, and shortly after, under the well-directed fire of the French, a breach was effected in the wall. The commander being now killed, and the fort without a cover, the garrison, who had become greatly demoralized, refused to fight longer,¹ and having demanded terms of capitulation, surrendered themselves prisoners of war just as Montcalm was on the point of storming the entrenchments.

Hardly had the garrison surrendered, when the French Indians, exasperated by the loss of some of their braves, uttered terrific yells, and with the tomahawk and knife were about to fall upon the unarmed prisoners. The horrible butchery that would have ensued was, however, happily prevented by the prompt action of Montcalm, who, to his honor be it written, ordered out a file of his men, and com-

¹ Manuscript deposition—taken before Sir William Johnson—of John Walker and Samuel Lamb, both of whom succeeded in making their escape from Canada.

manded them to fire upon his red allies. Six of the savages ^{CHAP. I.} fell dead on the spot, and the remainder, muttering threats of vengeance, sulkily put up their knives, and skulked back to their quarters.¹ The garrison, composed of Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments, and numbering sixteen hundred men—were, according to the terms of the surrender, conveyed safely to Montreal, together with the large stores of provisions and ammunition that had fallen into the hands of the victors. 1756.

With consummate policy, the French general, to conciliate the Six Nations, by whom the erection of these forts had been always regarded with jealousy, leveled both fortresses to the ground, and “left Oswego a solitude,” unbroken, save by the hooting of the owl or the scream of the panther.

Sir William Johnson was in Albany when the news arrived on the twentieth of August of the investment of Oswego. On the receipt of this intelligence, he was immediately sent by Loudoun with two battalions of militia and three hundred Indians, to the German Flats,² to support General Webb, who had started from Albany for the relief of the garrison two days before its surrender. It was too late, however, to render any assistance. The rumor of the capture reached Webb at the Oneida carrying place; and such was the terror which it excited in that poltroon, that fancying he already beheld his own scalp dangling from the waist of some brawny savage, he caused some trees to be hastily felled and thrown into Wood creek, and, with his regiment, fled in the wildest consternation to the German Flats³—at the same time that the enemy, antici-

¹ Manuscript deposition of John Viele, of Schenectady, who was present at the capture—taken before Sir William Johnson at Mt. Johnson 18th October, 1756. This seems to sustain the view taken by Lord Loudoun in his letter to J. Osborne, 13th September, 1756, in which the writer considers the rumor of the massacre at Oswego without foundation.

² Manuscript letter: Loudoun to Johnson, 26th August, 1756.

³ Manuscript letter: Loudoun to Johnson, 2d September, 1756.

CHAP. I. pating a similar visitation from him, were taking the same precautions to prevent his advance.

1756. The fall of Oswego, instead of rousing Loudoun to a vigorous prosecution of the campaign—especially, as with the force at his command, he could easily have penetrated into the very heart of Canada—caused him to abandon any offensive operations which he might have contemplated. He therefore contented himself with visiting Forts Edward and William Henry; and after giving General Winslow strict orders to act only on the defensive, he left Webb with fourteen hundred men at the carrying-place, and returned to Albany, to dismiss the Provincials to their firesides and the regulars into winter quarters.

But if Lord Loudoun was not to win laurels upon the battle-field, he was destined to an unenviable distinction in New York. On his arrival in that city in December, he insisted that his officers should have free quarters upon the city. The citizens, who saw in this an attempt to burden them with a standing army, became excited, and warmly pleaded their rights as Englishmen. The viceroy was not to be moved. Six men were billeted upon Oliver De Lancey. The latter threatened, if they were not removed, to leave the country. "I shall be glad of it," replied his lordship, at the same time quartering half a dozen more upon him, "for then the troops will have the whole house."¹ The corporation insisted that free quarters

¹ "Sir William Johnson.

Sir Am just now informed that 2400 men are arrived at New York. My lord set a billeting them and sent only six to his old acquaintance Mr. Ol. De Lancey; he zounzed and blood and ounz'd at the soldiers, this was told my lord, he sent Mr. Ol. half a dozen more; he sent my lord word if matters were to go so he would leave the country: My lord sent him word he would be glad of it, then the troops would have the whole house. I really thought this so extraordinary, I must communicate it to you:

"I am

" Sir

" Your most obed't

" Serv't

WILLIAM CORRY.

"Albany

" January 15th 1757."²— ² Manuscript letter.

were against the common law, and the petition of rights. CHAP.
I.
“God damn my blood,” exclaimed Loudoun to Mayor {
Cruger, who presented the opinion of the corporation, “if 1756.
you do not billet my officers upon free quarters this day,
I’ll order all the troops in North America under my com-
mand, and billet them myself upon this city.” All argu-
ment being thus at an end, a subscription was raised for
the quartering of the officers; and Loudoun having ren-
dered himself an object of detestation, went to Boston to
breathe the same threats, and to talk of the vigor which
was to characterize the next year’s campaign.

CHAPTER II.

1757.

CHAP. II. Clouds of black portent hung over the opening of the
1757. new year. The storm, which Sir William Johnson had predicted as the result of the loss of Oswego, had burst with all its fury upon the frontier settlements.

The Six Nations, who had so long wavered in their attachment to the English, now threw off all equivocation, and in April boldly sent a large delegation from each castle, to make their peace with the governor of Canada. Our promise, said they, to remain firm to the English was given with the understanding that the war should be prosecuted vigorously; and now that they saw the French victorious on every side, and the English army retreating, as it were, into winter quarters, they considered themselves released from all previous obligation, and determined to take the matter into their own hands. At the same time, swarms of hostile Indians, emboldened by this action of the Confederacy and instigated by the wily priest at La Presentation, roamed through the forests between Oswego and Schenectady in quest of scalps and plunder. Numerous were the murders committed on the border. The manuscripts of Sir William abound with letters written to him, at this time, from officers of militia and private individuals, either relating some heartrending occurrence, or imploring his aid. A messenger, sent by the Baronet with a letter to General Webb at Albany, was waylaid, scalped, and his body thrown into the Mohawk.¹ Some men in a field, within a stone's throw of Schenectady, were shot down in their tracts. Small war-

¹ Manuscript letter: Henry J. Wendell to Johnson.

parties continually hovered in the vicinity of Mount John-^{CHAP. II.}son, watching an opportunity to take its occupant or his }
scalp into Canada. To add to all these horrors, rumors }
came by Indian runners, that a large party of French and }
Indians, was on its way to the German Flats, with the }
intention of laying it in ashes, preparatory to marching on }
the lower settlements. To these scenes of bloodshed, the }
Six Nations, who had hitherto been a barrier against the }
predatory excursions of the enemy, now remained, with }
the exception of the Mohawks, idle and indifferent spec- }
tators, refusing to take up the hatchet either for or against }
the English, until the result of the congress then holding }
between their sachems and De Vaudreuil, should be }
known. While, however, they witnessed the sufferings }
of the border with such apathy, they remained firm in }
their attachment to Sir William, who was at this period, }
the recipient of numerous messages from the several cas- }
tles of the Confederacy, putting him on his guard against }
those prowling bands that had sworn to entrap him.¹

The Baronet did not despair. Summoning the Six Nations to meet him once more at Fort Johnson on the tenth of June, he devoted himself with more than his usual assiduity, to win their confidence and respect. Captains Thomas Butler, John Butler and Funda were sent by him through the different cantons with friendly messages, having orders to tarry at Onondaga castle, and keep a watchful eye upon its movements; while he himself, as a preparatory step to the important council in June, repeatedly held informal meetings with the Indians at his own house, feasting them, distributing presents, and in short, neglecting no opportunity of winning his way to their hearts by those pleasant little arts which he alone knew so well how to employ. Nor was he confined to a merely

¹ Manuscript letters to Sir William Johnson, warning him of his danger. The Baronet's friends were also solicitous for his safety even among the Six Nations. "For God's sake, don't expose yourself among the Indians; rather send for them and let them wait upon you." Manuscript letter: William Corry to Johnson, June, 11th 1757.

CHAP. negative policy. It has been already stated that the
 II. Mohawks formed a noble exception to the indifference of
 1757. the other Nations of the Confederacy. Secure in the attachment of that clan, he availed himself of those allies to annoy the enemy as much as possible. To do this was no easy task; and indeed it required the utmost activity of the superintendent to keep himself well informed of the actual or intended movements of the foe. This is evident by Sir William's manuscript journal for this year. As the latter has never seen the light, and is curious in itself, a few extracts from it will probably not be unacceptable—serving, as they will, to illustrate not only the present history, but also the character of the relations existing between the English and the Confederates during the administration of the Indian department by the principal personage of this work.¹

“1757 *Friday, May 13th.*—Captain Dick, a Mohawk, and five more of said nation, and one Canoy Indian, were fitted out by Sir William with everything necessary for warriors, and sent off for Tiendarago² or Crown Point, from whence they expected to return in twenty days. Sir William gave them a red flag and a pass.”

“*Wednesday the 18th.*—Sir William received a letter from Captain John Butler, acquainting him that some of his scouts had discovered and spoke with two Mississagey Indians coming as spies to the German Flats. Copy of which letter he sent immediately to Major General Webb by express.”

“*Thursday, May the 20th.*—Sir William gave Peter of Canajoharie, a war belt,³ to get a prisoner or scalp in the room of Eseras, a Mohawk who lately died here. He promised him to be here with his party in a few days in order to go upon said service, gave him paint for his party,

¹ Some of the entries in this journal are in the handwriting of Peter Wraxall, at this time Johnson's private secretary.

² Ticonderoga—always spelt thus by Sir William Johnson.

³ The war-belt was given as a sort of commission authorizing its holder to scalp the enemy.

&c., and so parted. N. B. Sir William sent four strings of black wampum by him to let their people know that the French and Indians had begun to scalp and take prisoners, having killed four, and taken three prisoners at Fort Edward, which behavior of theirs (after what the French governor said to the Six Nations in Canada last winter) he desired they would consider of, and hoped they would act thereon as became "brethren and friends."

"*Eodie.* Sir William Johnson spoke with Nickus Hance, alias Tacarihogo, a Canajoharie chief, who came to see him and told him, that as he was much concerned by the loss of his (Hance's) mother, who lately died, that he expected he would remove his concern by going to war and bring him either a prisoner or scalps to put in her room, instead, as is usual among Indians. Upon this Sir William gave him a very fine black belt to inforce his request. Tacarihogo returned Sir William thanks for the concern he showed for the loss of his mother, accepted the belt, and promised he would on his return home call his young men together, and lay Sir William's belt and request before them."

"*May 22d.*—Mores, with three Mohawks, returned from Tiendarago, where they lay waiting for a prisoner twenty-four hours close to the fort on the hill the other side of the river coming from Lake George which overlooks the fort. No morning or evening gun fired there. They did not see an Indian about the place. They have no advanced post as yet along the lake—sent the above intelligence to Major General Webb."

"*Tuesday, May 31st.*—Laurence, a Mohawk chief, with four men of said castle, and four Delawares, came to my house in order to be fitted out; and told me they would join the Schoharie Indians who were then ready to move against the enemy. They joined David of Schoharie accordingly, and told me they would set out for Crown Point the next morning, being fifteen Indians in number and two white men, in all seventeen men—The next day

CHAP.
II. were joined by six Indians which made the party consist
of twenty-three.”

1757. “*June 2d.*—Zacharias and Little Hance with eight men of the tribe of the turtle,¹ were fitted out with all necessities, and told Sir William that they would be ready to set off for Canada the 4th inst., and desired to know what part of the country he would have them go to. To which he answered that at the two French forts he imagined the enemy would be on their guard, therefore thought it best to attack their boats coming along Lake Champlain. *Eo die.* Captain Dick with his party returned from near Tiendarago in seven days, and says that the enemy have an advanced post near a saw mill where they have about forty men, who kept so close in and about the kind of fort they have, that there was no possibility of taking any of them. Besides there was a large party of the enemy constantly scouring the woods thereabouts, whom they very narrowly avoided.”

Nothing so loses the respect of the red man as imbecility; the inactivity of the English and consequent successes of the French had, as has been intimated, aided the latter in their efforts to alienate the Confederacy from the English interest; and an occurrence therefore which happened at this time, by turning a little the scale, greatly assisted the Baronet in his efforts.

The report that a French army was on its way to attack the lower settlements, was not without foundation. Early in the morning of the eighteenth of March, the attention of the garrison of Fort William Henry was attracted to a mysterious light at some distance down the lake. The conjectures to which this appearance gave rise, were soon set at rest, when the gray dawn disclosed on the ice in front of the fort fifteen hundred French regulars, Canadians and Indians, armed with three hundred scaling ladders and everything necessary for a vigorous attack. Hardly, how-

¹ Each of the original Five Nations was divided into three tribes—the tortoise, the bear and the wolf.

ever, had the sun appeared above the horizon, when the guns of the fort served by William Eyre, one of Braddock's ^{CHAP. II.} most skillful artillerists, compel the enemy to retire with ^{1757.} considerable loss. Towards noon, with their forces arranged in a semi-circle, they renew the attack, but with no better success. At midnight of the same day, they attempt a surprise, but accomplish nothing except the burning of the sloops and most of the bateaux. Finally, their demand for a surrender being refused, and another spirited attack being bravely repelled by the undaunted defenders, the French beat a retreat; and being seized by a panic—the cause of which has never been ascertained—they flee precipitately down the lake, leaving behind them twelve hundred of their sledges and a great quantity of military equipments.¹ In the loss of men the enemy suffered severely; and the warm April sun revealed many a ghastly form wrapped in a winding sheet of snow.²

¹ Manuscript letter: Major William Eyre to Sir William Johnson, 3d April, 1757.

² The following anecdote of General John Stark—who was at the time of the attack in command of the rangers stationed at Fort William Henry—is related by Caleb Stark, in his biography of his grandfather:

“While going his rounds, on the evening of the sixteenth, Captain Stark overheard a squad of his men, who were of the Scotch-Irish race, planning a celebration in honor of St. Patrick, for the next night. He afterward said he had then no presentiment of approaching danger, but disliked these wild Irish demonstrations. He therefore called for the ranger sutler, Samuel Blodget, and gave him directions to deliver the rangers their regular rations of grog until the evening of the seventeenth; and after that no more, without a written order from himself. On that evening he retired to his quarters, directing his orderly sergeant to say to all applicants for written orders that he was confined to his bunk with a lame right hand, and would not be disturbed. The Irish troops, (regulars) secured an extra supply of rum on the night of the sixteenth, and commenced their carousal, which they carried on with unabated vigor through the night and during the ensuing day, in honor of St. Patrick and his wife Sheelah. They drank so freely that the officer of the day could find none of them fit for duty as sentinels, and the rangers who were sober, supplied their places. The rangers, seeing the Irish thus enjoying themselves, desired the same privilege. The sutler informed them of his orders, and the captain's quarters were beset to obtain a written order. The orderly refused to disturb his officer, as he was con-

CHAP. II. The news of this attack was conveyed to the Baronet in
 1757. a letter from Colonel, afterward General Gage, on Sunday, the twentieth of March. He immediately issued orders for the militia on the Mohawk river to muster at his house as soon as possible, and sent Arent Stevens to the Mohawks, who, with others of the Confederates then at Mount Johnson, agreed to march forthwith. Such was the prompt response to his call, that at daybreak of Monday morning, he set out from Mount Johnson with the Indians and twelve hundred militia, reaching Fort Edward on Thursday, the twenty-fourth. Receiving, however, on his arrival, intelligence from Major Eyre that the enemy had retreated, he began his march homeward on the twenty-sixth; but scarcely was he out of sight of the fort, when an express met him bringing the alarming news that the French were even then marching upon the German Flats. A moment's delay might prove fatal, and giving the militia and Indians orders to follow immediately, he rode all that night, arriving at Fort Johnson at four o'clock the next morning! Here he was informed by some Indian scouts who had just come in, that the alarm was groundless. Choosing, however, to be on the safe side, he transferred his head quarters on the eighth of April to Burnet's Field, whence he issued orders to his Indian officers to keep themselves and their scouts on the alert—at the same time dispatching a trusty party of Mohawks to Swegatchie to ascertain the movements of the enemy.²

fined with a painfully lame right hand, and could not write. The soldiers felt somewhat cross, but bore their disappointment like philosophers. At two o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth, a ranger sentinel on the ramparts observed a light upon the lake, and soon afterward became aware that a large force was advancing in the direction of the fortress. Notice was instantly conveyed to the ranger captain. The lame hand was instantly restored to health, and he was among his soldiers. The commander of the fort was quietly notified, and the rangers silently mustered upon its walls." The near approach of danger dissipated the fumes of liquor from the brains of the regulars, "and the garrison was soon in condition for a vigorous defence."

²One cannot help contrasting the energy which Sir William displayed

It would seem as if the Fates had combined to thwart the efforts of the Baronet, for scarcely were the Confederates mollified and prepared to give a willing ear to his persuasions, when a circumstance occurred which threatened to throw all his plans into confusion, and seriously mar that harmony and good feeling which at this critical time were so essential to the success of the approaching council. It happened that a party of Mohawks, while loitering around Fort Hunter, fell into a dispute with the soldiers of the garrison, which though trivial at first, resulted in several of the Indians being dangerously wounded. "I have settled some differences," wrote the Baronet on this occasion to General Abercrombie, "which happened between the garrison and them before, but this is of so high a nature, that it is not in my power to reconcile it, unless the whole garrison be withdrawn and that very soon. I can assure you sir that in a meeting [at my house] two of their chief men (with tears in their eyes, which is not very common) declared they were afraid that as soon as the relations of those wounded and the rest of their people returned from their hunting (whom they daily expected) and got a little liquor, it would not be in their power to prevent their attempting to have satisfaction. Wherefore they most earnestly entreat you to remove this garrison, and if any more troops be sent there, that they may be such people as are acquainted with them and their customs; then they can live in peace and comfort with them."

"It is very unlucky at this time, when a meeting of all the nations is soon expected, whereat I have great hopes matters may be brought to a better issue than was expected. There is nothing would give the French more pleasure, than a difference between us and the Mohawks at present."

The exertions of Sir William, however, prevented the ill effects which he so feared; and on the tenth of June a full delegation from the Confederacy, with the exception

in this emergency, with the poltroonery of General Webb in refusing to reinforce Fort William Henry a few months later.

CHAP. of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, assembled at Fort Johnson,
 II. according to appointment. Such had been his personal
 1757. influence that previous to the assembling of the council, the effects of the Montreal conference were in a great measure counteracted, so that on the present occasion the Upper Nations,¹ far from the boldness which they had but a little while before assumed, now attempted to excuse their former lukewarmness on the ground that it had arisen not from any indifference to the interests of the English, but from the fear in which they stood of their own castles being attacked by the French. To this quibble, the Baronet, tempering severity with mildness, replied: "It is certain, Brethren, the covenant chain was made for our common good and safety, and it is well known to you all, that it speaks in this manner:—that the English and the Six Nations shall consider themselves as one flesh and blood, and that whenever any enemy shall injure one, the other is to feel it and avenge it, as if done by himself. Have not the French hurt us? Is not their ax in our heads? Are they not daily killing and taking our people away? Have not some of your nations both to the southward and the northward joined the French against us? Nay some of you, by your own confession, have gone out by yourselves and struck the English. Have you not now several of our people prisoners amongst you, whom you conceal from me? Have you not lately suffered the Swegatchie Indians to come through your habitations and take one of our people from the German Flats? Let me ask you now if all this is behaving like brethren, and whether you ought not to be ashamed when you put us in mind of the covenant chain? Surely you dream or think I have forgot the old agreement between us, when you talk in this manner. I take you therefore by the head and rouse you from your lethargy and bring you to your senses."

The council continued ten days; and when the pro-

¹The Upper Nations were the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas. The lower were the Mohawks, Oneidas and Tuscaroras.

digious efforts of De Vaudreuil and the Jesuit priests to CHAP.
II.
 alienate the Confederates is taken into consideration, its 1757.
 results may be considered eminently satisfactory. The
 Mohawks needed no urging to use the hatchet against the
 French; and the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas promised
 at least neutrality, at the same time expressing their unani-
 mous determination "to hold fast the covenant chain" of
 friendship, and remain allies to his majesty, and brethren
 to his subjects." "I am fully persuaded," wrote the Ba-
 ronet to the lords of trade—alluding to this result, "that
 the loss of Oswego has produced the present neutrality
 agreed on by the Upper Nations." He was also fearful
 that the destruction of the fort at the Oneida carrying-place
 by Webb, and his precipitate retreat from that post, would
 be the means of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras likewise
 declaring themselves neutral. In this, however, he was
 happily disappointed; for, not long after, those two
 Nations declared boldly in favor of the English; and
 although they did not enter into the war with the same
 alacrity as the Mohawks, yet their services were very valu-
 able to the English during the entire contest. Thus again,
 was French influence over the Six Nations thwarted
 by the mere personal attachment of the latter to the Ba-
 ronet; and the war deprived of half its terrors to the inha-
 bitants on the border.

Indian relations now wore a brighter hue. The baffled
 priest at Presentation saw his predatory bands return
 chagrined and disappointed. Those nations of the Con-
 federacy, who had declared unequivocally in favor of
 the English, entered into the contest with spirit, and were
 now as anxious to be led against the enemy, as they had
 been before indifferent and apathetic. Still the Baronet
 thought it not prudent to relax his watchfulness, and the
 months of June and July were spent by him in sending
 out war parties into Canada, and allaying the innumera-
 ble petty jealousies that were continually occurring between
 the Indians and whites. The manner in which he was

CHAP. II. employed at this time will, however, be more apparent from
 { the following letter written by him to his former aid, and
 1757. now his intimate friend and secretary, Captain Peter
 Wraxall.

“FORT JOHNSON, 17th July, 1757.

“Dear Wraxall:

“I received the first letter you wrote me since you left us, just as I was going to Canajoharie and the German Flats. At the former I clothed all their women, old men, and children, who are much more numerous than I imagined, and gave them provisions which they are very scarce of. Their number amounts to two hundred and forty-seven exclusive of the young men. At the latter, I had that unhappy affair of the two Indians (belonging to the party of the Five Nations, whom I fitted out to go to Canada but were murdered by Tom Smith) to make up. It was the most difficult job I ever had, as the Five Nations who were at the meeting lately were all there yet, and so enraged (saying that these two made five now murdered by us within a year) that I had hard work to prevent their spilling blood for it. However, by condoling their death, taking our hatchet out of their heads, and several other forms used by them, and at a very considerable expense besides, I made them easy for this time. * * * I have now five parties out on different days; some of whom I expect daily; others making ready to go out. I hear some of the Aughquagas¹ are coming here in order to go out unasked—all the Indians daily asking me when the army is to move towards the enemy and when I go. * *

* * * I write now to Major General Webb—from whom I had a letter the same time I received yours—wherein he expresses great satisfaction at my taking the first prisoner brought in, out of the hands of the Indians. It was with a good deal of difficulty, and I much doubt my

¹ Aughquaga on the Susquehanna river, was at this time an Aboriginal Port Royal, where many of the Six Nations who had become disgusted with the politics of their several castles, were in the habit of settling.

being able to get all they may be able to take from them ^{CHAP. II.} without giving such umbrage and dissatisfaction as may ^{1757.} upset the whole—as they well know the French Indians are allowed to keep and dispose of their prisoners as they please, which is the greatest encouragement they can have given them. However, I shall endeavor all in my power to follow the general's directions in that point, as near as I can. I have nothing to write you from this quarter. All our hopes and expectations are from his lordship's success and yours that way.

“I am, dear Wraxall,
Your sincere well-wisher and
Humble servant,
“WM. JOHNSON.”¹

“His Lordship's success,” to which allusion is here made, had reference to the expedition against Louisburg under Lord Loudoun, which had already sailed from New York. On the nineteenth of January, a council of war had been held by the viceroy, composed of the governors of New England and Nova Scotia, having reference in a measure, if not wholly, to an attack on that fortress. In this council, Loudoun proposed that four thousand troops should be raised by New England for this year's campaign, and that New York and New Jersey should furnish their quota of men for the same object. Although his lordship did not deign to reveal the plan of operations which he designed to follow—veiling it under the pompous declaration “that the interests of the British service forbade him immediately to disclose it”—yet it was well understood that an attack was contemplated upon either Louisburg or Crown Point. The arrogance and insolence with which Loudoun conducted himself on the present occasion towards the colonial governors,—ascribing, as he did, all the ill successes of the last campaign to the Provincial troops, completely disgusted the people of New

¹ Manuscript letter.

CHAP. II. England. Nevertheless, as his requisition on them for
 1757. } men was so moderate, compared with what they had
 expected, they responded with promptness to his demand,
 and their quota was soon in the field.

It was partially with a view of meeting this requisition of Loudoun, that Governor Hardy convened his assembly on the sixteenth of February. In his opening message, after informing both branches of his legislature of the renewed proof which his majesty had given, of his interest in the welfare of the colony, by sending over additional reinforcements into the province, he acquainted them with the recent proceedings of Lord Loudoun and of the latter's requisition upon the province of New York for its proportion of troops. The abortive measures undertaken last year for the defence of the province, and the advances which the enemy had recently made, showed the necessity of vigorous action. "And," continued the governor, "from the proofs I have had of your affection to his majesty, and of your zeal for the support of the common cause, I persuade myself, you will not fail to furnish the quota of men demanded of you, and thus strengthen the hopes of success, that we may reasonably have from an able and experienced direction of his majesty's forces, attended with the divine blessing, on his arms. The season requires that no time be lost, and I must press you, to be early in your resolutions, that I may give the necessary orders as soon as possible."¹

But the message was not entirely devoted to the necessity of furnishing troops. Other and equally weighty matters at home demanded their immediate attention. The disputes with New Jersey and Massachusetts Bay concerning their boundaries, had risen to fever heat. The proposition of the lords of trade, long since made—that money should be appropriated for defraying the expenses of commissioners to settle the controversy—had been unaccountably neglected by the assembly, until the

¹Journals of the assembly.

social condition of those residing on the border had become really lamentable. In one instance, especially, in the early part of the present year, a riot had occurred in the manor of Livingston. The sheriff in the execution of his office was roughly handled, and a man whom he had called to his aid, killed. Added to this, the affair, at first confined merely to the question of boundary, had now become much more complicated from the fact, that the Stockbridge Indians, some of whom had been present at the riot, took sides, and in many instances sold lands twice over to interested parties, in utter disregard of former patents. This action of the Indians, however, was soon stopped by Sir William Johnson, who, at the solicitation of the governor, wrote to the sachems and chiefs of the Stockbridge Nation requesting them to remain neutral;¹ but the whites still carried on the controversy with increased bitterness. Sir Charles, therefore, now demanded of the assembly, that it would immediately institute such proceedings as would effectually settle these disputes. Soon after coming to the government, he had recommended that provision should be made for the expense of proper commissioners to adjust the boundaries; "and," added he, "I have their lordship's repeated directions, to recommend it again to your consideration, and to acquaint you, that as this is a matter of high concernment to the peace and quiet of government, and the lives and properties of his majesty's subjects, his majesty does expect that you will forthwith make a proper provision for the expense of such commissioners, that there may be no farther delay in a matter of so great importance."²

Before the governor closed, he alluded to another matter, by far the most important of any yet mentioned. "In my speech to you," said he, "of the twenty-fourth of September last, I repeated the necessity of the legislature's

¹ Manuscript letter; Sir William Johnson to the sachem of the Stockbridge Indians.

² Journals of the assembly.

CHAP. interposing in the case of those exorbitant grants of land,
 II. complained of by the Indians as fraudulent. I cannot
 1757. avoid mentioning this again to you, and recommending it
 to your consideration; the passing of a law for vacating
 and annulling such grants, appearing to me not only a *just*
 but *necessary* measure, as by redressing *this real grievance*
of those people we may give a happy turn to our negotia-
 tions with them, and induce them to throw in their whole
 weight to our assistance.”¹

This is a straightforward and manly avowal, and reveals the true source, whence sprung most of those difficulties which were continually arising between the Indians and whites in both the northern and southern provinces. It has been seen that the chief cause of the bloody war, which was even now raging in Pennsylvania, was the deceit which had been practiced upon the Delawares in the sale of their lands, at the congress at Albany in 1754. The grievances, moreover, to which the Six Nations had been subjected in the sales of their lands, from traders and land agents in the vicinity of Albany—of which Lydius was a fit type—had been one of the greatest impediments to the success of Johnson among the Indians. The Baronet had repeatedly written to the ministry and the different colonial governors, that his efforts among the Delawares and other Southern Indians, and also among the Six Nations, would be of no avail, unless these fraudulent purchases were revoked; and in a very able letter to the lords of trade, under date of September of this year, he urged—to the infinite disgust of the proprietaries—that the surest method of giving tranquillity to Pennsylvania, would be an open and voluntary surrender of the deed of sale given at Albany. It is very probable, therefore, that the efforts of Sir Charles Hardy, at this time, to prevail upon his assembly to vacate those fraudulent grants were due to his influence. This inference is moreover rendered reasonable from the fact, that when in June 1756, Sir

¹ Journals of the assembly.

Charles proposed to his assembly an act for annulling the ^{CHAP. II.} patents of Kayaderosseros, Cannajohary, and Oriskany, on the ground of their having been fraudulently obtained ^{1757.} from the Indians, the Baronet was universally regarded as its author.

The assembly sent up its answer to the governor's message on the eighth. Regarding the request for troops, it responded with alacrity; promising to furnish their full quota of men, in order "that whatever may be the fate of our upright cause, we may not be in any ways instrumental to our ruin, by tedious delays, timid resolutions, or an ill timed parsimony." With respect, however, to the boundary question, the reply of both houses was less satisfactory. They wished that they could see it their duty to engage for what they believed would be a heavy expense; but, said they, referring to the existing war, "we would humbly observe, that *a line of a much more serious nature, at present engages our whole attention, and justly claims the substance we have to spare.*" The governors of those colonies, with whom was the dispute, could, they thought, preserve peace and order in their respective borders, until they had repelled the common enemy, and could with propriety say that they had lands to divide, or jurisdiction to settle. Still if it was the intention of the lords of trade to bring this question to an immediate issue, they suggested that the money arising from quit-rents was the natural fund out of which to discharge the expense of commissioners, especially as that fund was so deeply interested in the issue of the controversy.¹ As to the fraudulent grants of land to which his excellency had been pleased to refer, they admitted that they had been productive of many evils to the colony, both by retarding the settlement of lands, "and by giving the Indians perhaps too just cause of complaint." As, however, the owners of those lands, had paid considerable sums to the Indians

¹ Journals of the assembly.

CHAP. II. for their rights, and, in addition, given large amounts to
 1757. the governor and other civil officers for the patents—often more than the lands were worth—to deprive them of their possession without a consideration would be, in their estimation, harsh and unjust. And as in the present condition of affairs, no settlements could be made upon them, and the Indians would therefore be their sole occupants for some time to come, they begged that the consideration of this matter might for the present be postponed.¹ Although these were the ostensible reasons given, yet the real one unquestionably was, that the De Lancey family were interested in the Oriskany patent—a very rich tract of land some twenty miles in length, lying along both banks of the Mohawk river near Wood creek,—and therefore brought all their immense influence to bear, in defeating the just request of the governor.²

The session of the assembly continued ten days, during which the sum of twenty one thousand and some odd pounds was appropriated for raising and equipping one thousand men to act with the four thousand already raised by Massachusetts, “which,” said the speaker, “is our full proportion according to the *plan of union*, and was all his lordship demanded.”³

This was Sir Charles Hardy’s last meeting with his assembly ; for having asked and obtained permission to resign the government and return to his former profession, he hoisted his flag as rear admiral of the blue, and leaving the government in the hands of the lieutenant governor, sailed on the second of July to take command of the expedition against Louisburg.

¹ Journals of the assembly.

² Smith.

³ Smith.

CHAPTER III.

1757.

On the twentieth of June, Lord Loudoun, with six ^{CHAP.} thousand regulars, sailed from New York for Halifax, preparatory to investing Louisburg. Before he embarked—^{III.} 1757. as if he had made it his special study how he might best render himself still more odious to the colonists—he laid an embargo upon all the seaports from Virginia to Massachusetts; and finished by impressing four hundred men from the city of New York alone. General Webb, now second in command, was left with six thousand men to garrison Fort William Henry, Fort Edward, and the forts along the Mohawk valley; General Stanwix with two thousand men was assigned to the West, and Colonel Bouquet was directed to guard the borders of the Carolinas, from the incursions of the Southern Indians.

Loudoun arrived in Halifax on the last day of June. Here he was joined, on the ninth of July, by Admiral Holburn with sixteen ships of the line, and by George Viscount Howe with six thousand disciplined troops—thus increasing his land force to eleven thousand well appointed and effective men. Every thing now augured well for the expedition. The troops were in high spirits; the balmy air of summer told of success; and the sails, flapping idly in the favoring breezes, urged to immediate departure. But to the sluggish mind of Loudoun, this was altogether too hasty a proceeding. A vegetable garden must first be planted for the use of the army, and a fine parade ground laid out, on which his regulars could attain yet greater discipline. Thus while the troops were winning golden opinions from the commander-in-chief for their proficiency in fighting mock battles, and storming

CHAP. III. sham fortresses, the beautiful July was frittered away.
 1757. Roused at length by the murmuring of both officers and men, Loudoun gave orders to embark for Louisburg. Scarcely, however, was the first anchor weighed, when learning that Louisburg had received an additional reinforcement, and that the French fleet outnumbered by one vessel his own, he reversed his orders, and with his troops sailed for New York; having accomplished nothing, save the intercepting of a small vessel bearing dispatches from the governor of Louisiana, of a peace recently concluded by the latter with the Cherokees.¹

General Montcalm was not an indifferent spectator to these occurrences. With an eagle eye he had followed the movements of the English commander; and while the latter was watching the growth of his cabbages under a July sun, he rightly judged that the time had come for a descent upon Fort William Henry.

While the fate of that fortress was already determined upon by the French general, the partizans of the latter were not inactive. On the twenty-third of July, Lieutenant Marin, a Canadian officer and the same who had destroyed the Lydius mills in 1745, appeared before Fort Edward at the head of two hundred men, and after a brisk skirmish, returned with thirty-two scalps and one prisoner taken from under the very guns of the fort.² Desirous of emulating this exploit, Lieutenant Corbière, also a Canadian officer, lay in ambush with some Ottawas among the islands of Lake George all the day and night of the twenty-sixth. At sunrise of the twenty-seventh, twenty-two bateaux were seen on the lake in charge of Colonel Palmer. Rising with terrific yells from their concealment, the Indians attacked the English with such ferocity that only two of the barges escaped. Twenty of the boats were either captured or sunk; and keeping time with their

¹ Manuscript letter; Loudoun to Johnson 1st July 1757.

² Montcalm to Vandrenil, 27th July, 1757.

paddles to the chant of the war song, the Indians returned down the lake, having their canoes decorated with the scalps of one hundred and sixty Englishmen.¹ CHAP.
III.
1756.

Montcalm was a true soldier. Disdaining the effeminate accompaniments of civilization, he strove to inure his men to hardship, himself setting the example. "In such an expedition," said he to his officers, who were disposed to grumble, "a blanket and a bearskin are the bed of a warrior. Imitate me. A soldier's allowance ought to suffice us."² Still, with the thoughtfulness which ever characterized him, he did not forbid a matress when age or infirmity rendered one necessary. Inspired by his example, hundreds of the red men, from the shores of the great lakes to the forests of Acadia and Maine, flocked to his standard. "Father," said they, "we are come to do your will:" and the close of July found him at the foot of Lake George, with ten thousand men—two thousand of whom were Indians.³

The savages yelled with delight as they pushed off their bark canoes from the shore. Montcalm followed with the bulk of his army in two hundred and fifty boats; while De Levi, with the remainder, marched through the forest on the western shore, guided by some of the Iroquois from the Sault St. Louis. On the first of August, a council of war was held in their boats in the north-west bay; and on the second, Montcalm disembarked with his troops and artillery in a cove about two miles from Fort William Henry, where he was entirely sheltered from its cannon. De Levi encamped with his regulars directly in the rear of the fort, while the Canadians and Indians under La Corn, took a position on the road to Fort Edward, thus cutting off all communication with that garrison. Montcalm, with the main body of the army, occupied a wood about three-quarters of a mile from the fort north of a small creek, and

¹ Montcalm to Vaudreuil 27th July, 1757.

² Montcalm's circular to the commandants of battalions, 25th July, 1757.

³ Doreil to Paulmy 31st July, 1757

CHAP.
III. } near the present site of the court house in the village of Cald-
well. To resist these formidable preparations, Lieutenant
1757. Colonel Monro had but four hundred and forty-nine men
within the fort, and only seventeen hundred men in a for-
tified camp on the rocky eminence, now the site of Fort
George.

The French commander, having sent on the fourth of August a summons to Monro to surrender, and having received a *point blanc* refusal, opened upon the fort a battery of nine cannon and two mortars. Two days afterward, two more batteries, having been placed in position, played on the English camp with telling effect. Meanwhile, the brave Monro, confident of reinforcements from Webb, to whom he had dispatched an express informing him of his situation, plied his guns with spirit, throwing vast quantities of shot and shell into the enemy's camp. The men in the entrenchments also worked hard, pouring a galling fire into the French by day, and each night by the light of the fires, toiling to repair the breaches made in their defences.

Colonel Monro's hope of reinforcements was vain. With four thousand men, Webb lay at Fort Edward, listening in abject terror to the distant roar of the artillery. For this conduct there is not the slightest palliation. The approach of Montcalm had not taken him by surprise. Sir William Johnson had written him to be on his guard; that the French were short of provisions, and that, if they came, they would come in large numbers, and would "make a bold push."¹ He had also received intelligence that Montcalm was moving up Lake Champlain with an army "numerous as the leaves of the trees." Beyond,

¹ Manuscript letter: Johnson to Webb. The correctness of this information given by Johnson, is verified by a letter from Dorcil to Paulmy under date of 14th August, 1757, in which the writer says:—"In the article of subsistence we are in the greatest distress since winter; and each person in Quebec has been for more than a month reduced to four ounces of bread. It is but too evident that a long time will elapse before we shall be more at our ease."

however, sending to the lieutenant governor and the Baronet to hurry up the militia, he did nothing for the relief of the beleaguered garrison, although express after express arrived from its gallant commander, imploring aid. CHAP.
III.
1757.

The Baronet was at Fort Johnson holding an important council with the Cherokees in reference to their late treaty with the Louisiana governor, when news arrived on the first of August from Webb, of the approach of Montcalm. Notwithstanding he had his "hands and head full"¹ yet he abruptly broke up the conference, and hastily collecting what militia and Indians he could muster, started for the relief of Webb, and arrived at the great carrying-place two days after the investment of Fort William Henry. Seeing at once the position of affairs, he begged that he might be sent to the aid of Monro. After repeated solicitations, his request was granted; but scarcely was he fairly on his way with Putnam's rangers and some Provincials who had volunteered to share the danger, when Webb ordered him and his detachment back, and sent in their place a letter to Monro full of exaggerations, and advising him to surrender. This letter was intercepted by Montcalm, who immediately sent it in to Monro, with the request that he would follow Webb's advice and thus save any farther effusion of blood. That gallant officer thanked him for his courtesy, and renewed his firing. At length ten of his cannon having burst, his ammunition being nearly exhausted, and all hope of assistance from his commanding officer being at an end, Colonel Monro, on the ninth, hoisted the white flag.

The terms given by Montcalm to the garrison were fair. They were to march out with all the honors of war, taking with them their baggage and small arms, and also one cannon out of respect for the gallant defence they had made.² In return they were to pledge themselves that they would not bear arms against the French for eighteen

¹ Manuscript letter: Johnson to Webb, 1st August, 1757.

² Journal of the expedition against Fort William Henry.

CHAP. months; and were to deliver up at Ticonderoga, within
 III. four months, all the French and Indian prisoners which
 1757. they had taken since the commencement of the war. Montcalm, on his part, pledged himself to furnish them with an escort of at least five hundred men, to accompany them seven miles on the road to Fort Edward.

Late in the afternoon of the same day, Montcalm took formal possession of the fort, the garrison of which joined their comrades in their entrenchments. The French general, knowing well the Indian character, warned the English against giving the savages anything that might intoxicate them. Well would it have been had this timely and judicious caution been followed. But the Indians, unable to obtain any rum from the French, begged it of the English, who, disregarding Montcalm's advice, and hoping in this manner to win the good will of the Indians, freely supplied them with that drink during the entire night.¹ At sunrise, the Indians gathered around the entrenchments; and as the English began their march, the savages, maddened by their night's debauch, hovered around them brandishing their tomahawks and uttering horrid yells. Still, even at this time, had the English stood their ground, or manifested any firmness, it is probable that the scenes which followed would never have occurred; but losing all presence of mind, they fled down the road in the wildest confusion, throwing down their baggage, arms, and even their clothes.² This only increased the rage and violence of the savages, who now boldly attacked them, plundering some, scalping others, and taking many prisoners. Montcalm was in his tent when the news of the behavior of his savage allies was brought to him. With all speed he hastened to the spot, and with De Levi and other officers, rushed into the *melée*, exposing himself to death; using prayers, threats and caresses; begging the interposition of the chiefs and interpreters; and in short applying every means in his

¹ Vaudreuil to Moras, Sept. 1757.

² Ibid.

power to stop the horrid carnage. The French soldiers, ^{CHAP. III.} also, aided their general, receiving in many instances } serious wounds—one of them indeed being killed. ¹ 1757. Finally, after thirty of the Provincials had been massacred, ² those of the soldiers who had not succeeded in reaching Fort Edward were rescued from the Indians, and sent into the fort; receiving new clothes and every attention that humanity could suggest. The next day the unfortunates, numbering four hundred, were sent under a strong guard to Fort Edward,—two chiefs of each nation being detailed with the party as an additional protection against any farther assaults from their warriors. Two hundred of the garrison were carried by the savages to Montreal; but they, together with those taken from the bateaux under Colonel Palmer, were immediately ransomed by De Vaudreuil, and sent by an armed vessel to Halifax. ³

Dreadful as was this example of Punic faith, on the part of the savages, Montcalm himself must be exonerated from being instrumental in it, either by accident or design. His conduct the previous year at Oswego, in arresting the contemplated massacre by shooting six Indians on the spot, allows us reasonably to infer, that if he had known of this affair before it was fairly under way, he would have adopted the same summary means, and thus prevented the bloody scene. While therefore our sympathies must ever flow out towards the unfortunate garrison, we should never allow them to prejudice us against one who ever proved himself as humane as he was brave. Rather let our indignation fall upon him, who, with ample means at his command, and within fourteen miles of the fort, allowed its brave defenders to become the victims of such barbarity.

By the orders of Montcalm, the walls of the fort were leveled with the ground and everything of a combustible

¹ Journal of the expedition.

² The New Hampshire regiment who were in the rear, felt the chief fury of the enemy.—*Belknap*.

³ Vaudreuil to Moras, Sept. 1757.

CHAP. nature consumed. The destruction being complete, the
 III. French, having with them large stores taken from the
 1757. English, returned to Ticonderoga, leaving behind them only
 blackened and smouldering ruins. Instead of the evening
 gun now arose the cry of the wolf, preying on the mangled
 bodies of the slain; and the waters of the lake reposing
 peacefully among the hills, told not of the bloody struggle,
 or of the roar and din of arms.

Upon the fall of Fort William Henry, Webb seemed
 paralyzed with terror. He sent his personal effects to
 Albany, and was on the point of falling back upon the
 Highlands, when Lord Howe, who had arrived on the
 seventh with reinforcements, calmed his fears by assuring
 him that there was no prospect of an immediate attack;
 and soon after, having ascertained to a certainty that the
 enemy were on their retreat to Ticonderoga, he dismissed
 to their homes twenty thousand of the militia, who had
 arrived a few days after the surrender.

But the *morale* of the army was completely destroyed.
 Sir William Johnson returned in disgust to Albany.
 Among the powers in authority, mutual recriminations
 followed. Webb accused De Lancey of not sending on
 the reinforcements in time; and the latter with far more
 truth, insisted that Webb was strong enough to have
 marched to the relief of the besieged long before they
 surrendered.¹ The militia, willing to fight, but weary of
 being led to slaughter by incompetent leaders, deserted by
 scores; and in one instance, out of a company of forty
 men, stationed at Fort Edward, ten only were left.² The
 royal rulers refused to find a true solution for this conduct
 of the militia; and while the lieutenant governor, shutting
 his eyes to what was obvious to every one, was writing to
 the Baronet, to ascertain "what were the motives of the
 great and scandalous desertion of the militia,"³ Loudoun

¹ Smith.

² Manuscript memoranda of Johnson of the desertions in Capt. Vile's
 company.

³ Manuscript letter: De Lancey to Johnson, 19th Aug., 1757.

talked nonsense, and proposed to "encamp on Long Island for the defence of the continent." CHAP.
III.

The news of the capitulation reached Mr. De Lancey at Albany, where he had arrived on the eighth of August, to expedite the forwarding of the reinforcements to Fort Edward. As the conduct of Webb was sustained by the regular troops,¹ the lieutenant governor feared that reports might be circulated unfriendly to his interest at court. This was the more to be dreaded, inasmuch as Ex-Governor Shirley, who attributed his recall to the efforts of the lieutenant governor, was using all his influence against him, supported by a recent publication entitled "A Review of Military Operations in North America," supposed at the time to be from the pen of Mr. Alexander. The lieutenant governor therefore hurried to New York with the intention of vindicating his conduct to the assembly, in order that the official letter to the agent might present his conduct in a favorable light to the ministry. The tone of his message to his legislature, which he convened by circular letters on the second of September, sufficiently shows his fears. Having alluded to the departure of Sir Charles Hardy, and of his having consequently assumed the government by virtue of his commission as lieutenant governor, he thus proceeds:

"Soon after which, apprehending a visit from the enemy on our northern frontiers, I thought it necessary to take all the measures in my power to strengthen General Webb; and for this purpose I sent out my orders to the colonels of the militia of Albany, Dutchess, Ulster, and that part of Orange county above the mountains, to march with their regiments to the assistance of General Webb, upon his requisition, and to obey his orders, of which I gave him notice by letter. In the night of the third August last, I received a letter from General Webb of the thirtieth

¹ So inveterate and unreasonable is the prejudice of regulars against volunteers—a prejudice which neither the French wars nor the American revolution, nor yet the present great rebellion (1864) has yet eradicated.

CHAP. July, advising me that the enemy were within twelve miles
 III. of Fort William Henry; that he should immediately call
 1757. in the troops at the different posts on Hudson's river; that he had given orders for the militia of the counties to march, and that he desired my presence at Albany to forward them. I set out for that place on the fifth, *which was as soon as I possibly could*, and arrived there on the eighth. On the tenth, I had advice of the surrender of Fort William Henry, and as it was reasonable to think the enemy, with so formidable an army and such a train of artillery as they were said to have, would endeavor to penetrate farther into this country, I sent orders for a detachment of five hundred men from the city of New York and Westchester, who showed a very becoming spirit on this occasion."

This message was received by the assembly with an ominous silence; and without having either approved or disapproved of his conduct, it adjourned the next day, to the second of November.

The truth is, that the province of New York as well as New England, was thoroughly disgusted with the manner in which the whole campaign had been conducted. While this general, and that general, were each endeavoring to shift the responsibility from one to another, the people only saw that with plenty of men and money, they still lay exposed to the enemy, having met with nothing but a succession of mortifying defeats. This feeling is evident from the following letter of the speaker to the agent, under date of September twelfth, only ten days after Mr. De Lancey's vindictory message:

"As to our military operations, we are still on the losing side, Fort William Henry, on the back of Lake George, being taken and demolished by the enemy, after a siege of eight days, with no great loss of men on either side. It surrendered on capitulation, by which the French became masters of the fort, artillery and all the stores. Here were lodged all our cannon and stores intended against Crown Point. My Lord Loudoun arrived from Halifax, without

any attempt on that side. It is said the enemy were ^{CHAP. III.} superior to us both in land and sea forces. Thus, this campaign is like to end as did the last, with loss to poor ^{1757.} America. It seems very strange to us that the French can send such large supplies to America and always before us, notwithstanding the great superiority of the British navy. Surely there must be a great failure somewhere, which if not timely remedied, may probably end in the entire loss of English America. However, we still live in hopes that the next year's succors will be stronger and arrive earlier. Our provincial forces were ready in April, so that no blame can be at our doors. I wish my next may give you better tidings."

The speaker was not to have his wish; for before his next letter to the agent, the most cruel and sanguinary transaction of the entire war occurred, in the desolating of the beautiful fields along the Mohawk, and the burning of the dwellings on the German Flats, the settlers of which were subjected to all the horrors of the tomahawk and scalping knife;—a deed, also, which was the more humiliating, as it was the result of sheer neglect on the part of Abercrombie.

Rumors that a large force of French and Indians were preparing to march upon the settlements, reached the Baronet and the Palatines, soon after Montcalm's descent upon Fort William Henry, although its precise destination was not known. The Palatines themselves, moreover, became very uneasy, and feeling that the forts in their vicinity afforded no protection against the marauding bands of the enemy, were several times during the early fall, on the point of deserting their dwellings, and moving to the lower settlements for greater security. Sir William, also, knowing that their solicitude was well grounded, wrote, in September, a very plain letter to Abercrombie, in which he told him that the regulars stationed in the forts were not only very arrogant and self-sufficient, but that they were of no use whatever in protecting the Germans.

CHAP. What was necessary, he wrote, was to have men qualified
 {
 III. to act as rangers, stationed at the Flats, who might be con-
 1757 tinually employed in scouring the country in search of
 scalping parties. At the same time, it would be advisable
 to have the garrisons increased, that effectual resistance
 might be made in case the enemy should appear in force.
 These precautions, he urged, should be immediately taken.¹
 To these timely and judicious suggestions, Abercrombie
 gave no heed; and while the latter was yet loitering in
 Albany, the blow had been struck, and the enemy had
 made good their retreat.

At three o'clock in the morning of the twelfth of
 November, the Palatine village, consisting of sixty dwell-
 ings and five block-houses, was roused from its slumber by
 the terrible war-whoop. This was the signal for the
 assault, and at that instant a force of three hundred
 Canadians and Indians, under Bellêtre, advanced succes-
 sively upon each block-house. The enemy were received
 at the first; with repeated volleys of musketry, but the
 French advancing boldly, the mayor of the village in com-
 mand, unbarred the door and asked for quarter. The
 remaining block-houses thereupon surrendered at discre-
 tion, and were immediately burned. While the destruc-
 tion of these little fortifications was going on, the savages,
 having fired the dwellings, stationed themselves at the
 doors of each house, and tomahwked the wretched
 inmates, as they rushed out to avoid the flames—only to
 meet death in scarcely a less horrible form. In this
 expedition forty of the Germans were massacred, and
 one hundred and fifty carried into captivity. Having com-
 pleted the devastation, the enemy retired, taking with
 them vast quantities of grain and money, besides three
 thousand horned cattle and the same number of sheep.²

¹ Manuscript letter: Johnson to Abercrombie, 16th September, 1757.

² Summary of M. De Bellêtre's campaign, 28 Nov., 1757: also manuscript
 letter from Philip Townsend (Capt. 22d Foot) to Johnson, 13 Nov., 1757.
 Capt. Townsend was stationed at this time at Fort Herkimer.

The excitement, caused by this affair, was universal. The whole of the Mohawk valley was thrown into the wildest panic, which the pitiable sight of the women and children who had escaped the massacre, only served to intensify. The inhabitants of Stone Arabia and Cherry Valley hastened to send to Albany and Schenectady their effects and valuables, preparatory to following them themselves; so that at one time it seemed as if those settlements would be entirely depopulated.¹

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III.

1757.

At the time that this massacre occurred, Sir William was confined to his room, having been so ill for some weeks previous as to have been unable to turn himself in his bed. He, however, immediately dispatched his deputy, George Croghan, to the scene of the massacre, with orders to call the Tuscaroras and Oneidas to account for not having given the Palatines timely notice of the danger. But those castles were not to blame. Fifteen days before the massacre, the Oneidas, having learned from some Swegatchie Indians of the design of the French upon the flats, sent a message to the Germans, warning them of their danger and desiring them to be on their guard. Six days afterward, having received additional intelligence of the enemy's movements, the chief Oneida sachem came down to the Palatine village, and in a meeting with the inhabitants told what he had heard, and advised them to collect all their women and children in the largest block-house, and make the best defence they could; at the same time suggesting the importance of acquainting the Baronet with the news as quickly as possible. The Germans, however, not only never sent word to Sir William, but manifested the utmost indifference to this timely warning—laughing in the face of the sachem, and, in the latter's language, “slapping their hands on their buttocks, saying they did not value the enemy.”² It is difficult to reconcile the previous solicitude

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to Abercrombie.

² Speech of Conaghquies, or the chief Oneida sachem, to George Croghan.

CHAP.
III.
1757. of the Palatines, with their singular apathy on this occasion. History, however, furnishes numerous similar instances of individuals, and even communities, who from an habitual watchfulness, have suddenly become careless and indifferent.

Upon the return of Mr Croghan, and learning the true facts of the case, the Baronet, justly incensed, wrote another letter to Abercrombie, asking him without any circumlocution, "whether or not he intended to come and protect their settlements," and telling him plainly that they were too weak to resist, as the garrisons were little, if any protection to the settlers; the enemy having destroyed the flats under the very walls of the fort.¹ "Pardon my freedom," he concluded, "as the poor people have nobody else to whom they dare apply."² There was just cause for the Baronet's indignation. Had his advice to Abercrombie, the previous September, been taken, and the forts properly garrisoned, the massacre never would have occurred. Fort Herkimer was situated on the opposite bank of the Mohawk almost within sight of the flats, and the commander of that post had received notice of the enemy's approach only the day previous, from two Oneidas, who had come in haste from their castle to apprise him of his danger.³ Owing, however, to the smallness of his garrison he had been unable to oppose the enemy, who,

Manuscript private Journal of Johnson. This statement of the sachem was confirmed in every particular by the Germans themselves. Manuscript journal of Johnson.

¹ Fort Herkimer.

² Manuscript letter; Johnson to Abercrombie, 10 Dec., 1757.

³ Manuscript letter; Philip Townsend to Johnson, 11 Nov., 1757. The Indians who brought this information, and who, by the way, were sent by the same Oneida sachem who had given the previous warnings, "finding the Germans still incredulous, the next morning just before the attack began, laid hold on the German minister, and in a manner forced him over to the other side of the river; by which means he and some who followed him escaped the fate of their brethren."—George Croghan's account. *N. Y. Doc. His.*

as Sir William observes in the letter just quoted, had committed the outrage before the very eyes of the garrison.¹ CHAP.
III.
1757.

Loudoun was in Albany when the news of the massacre arrived. Instead, however, of attributing the disaster to the true cause—that of having failed to keep the enemy upon the defensive by a vigorous campaign, the preceeding summer—he now attributed it to the Confederates and the mismanagement of Indian affairs; and, with his usual hasty temper, was for declaring war immediately against those nations.² This purpose of his lordship—so suicidal to the interests of the English—excited great alarm among judicious people. “I should be greatly alarmed,” wrote Banyar, De Lancey’s deputy secretary, to Johnson, “with the apprehensions of our approaching war with these people, more to be dreaded in my opinion than the war we sustain already against five times their number, if I did not hope his lordship’s resentment would abate before he proceeded to action.” The Baronet, however, understood the viceroy perfectly; and by judicious management, finally prevailed on him to give up his rash purpose.

Had Loudoun persisted in his mad design, it is impossible, perhaps, to estimate the consequences which would have resulted. The Six Nations once having taken up the tomahawk against the English, the influence of Sir William, himself, would have been powerless to have arrested the storm, which, with the violence of the tornado, would have swept through the province. No friendly Indian runner would have warned of the approaching foe. Albany and Schenectady laid in ashes—rich farms desolated—the border settlements exposed to the scalping knife

¹ Mr. Benton in his *History of Herkimer County* (1856) is a little inclined to censure the Baronet for not warning the Palatines in time. Had he however, when he wrote, been able to refer to the original papers which have since come to light, he undoubtedly would have taken the view sustained in the text.

² Manuscript correspondence between Banyar and Johnson.

CHAP.
III.
1757. and fire-brand,—would have been only a few of the scenes witnessed. Nor would the province of New York have been the only sufferer. The barriers, which the Six Nations had always presented against incursions from Canada, once broken, those nations, together with countless hordes of Indians from the great lakes to Acadia, would have penetrated into Pennsylvania and Virginia to be joined by the Delawares, Cherokees and other Southern tribes, leaving in their bloody track horrors which the pen shrinks from depicting. In time the English might, perhaps, have been successful, but not until the red men had been entirely exterminated; and long years added to the contest. The arresting of these calamities from the country, due entirely—as I think I am justified in saying, from the collection of documents to which I have had access—to the influence and persuasions of Sir William Johnson, is not the least important of the services rendered by the latter to the cause of public humanity.

Of a far different character, was the confidence reposed in Sir William Johnson, by Governor Denny of Pennsylvania. “It gives me a great deal of satisfaction,” wrote the latter to the Baronet, “that you are pleased to approve of my conduct at the late treaty.¹ I shall always be attentive to follow your advice in all Indian affairs, that you shall think proper to recommend to my care in this province.”²

¹ Referring to a treaty at Easton recently concluded with some of the Delawares by the governor.

² Manuscript letter; William Denny to Johnson, 10 Nov., 1757.

CHAPTER IV.

1758.

The campaign against Canada, of 1758, opened with ^{CHAP. IV.} great apparent spirit. Not only did the hostile incursions ^{1758.} of the Canadian Indians continue very annoying to the frontier settlements,¹ but the mother country and the colonies alike felt that they had much to accomplish to repair the losses and disappointments of the two preceding years. Indeed, the repeated failures of Braddock and Webb, and Lord Loudoun, had chagrined and exasperated the nation. The elder Pitt, who had succeeded the silly Newcastle, even declared in parliament that there appeared to be a determination on the part of the officers in command, against any vigorous execution of the service of the country; and when, during the same year, the king was remonstrated with on appointing so young and rash a madman as Wolfe to conduct the meditated expedition against Quebec, the sturdy Brunswicker vexedly replied—"If he is mad, I hope he will bite some of my generals." It was under these circumstances that England determined to put forth her whole energies in the three formidable expeditions this year projected;—against Louisburg under General Amherst; against Fort Du Quesne, on the Ohio; and the third and most formidable division against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, with a view of striking a blow upon Montreal.

¹ In March, a party of seven hundred Canadians and Indians fell upon a detachment of two hundred rangers under Captain Rogers, near the narrows of Lake George, and after killing one hundred and forty-six, took three prisoners, and put the rest to flight. In justice, however, to Rogers, it should be stated, that before setting out in this fatal expedition, he asked for four hundred men, which were refused him.—*Rogers' Journal*.

CHAP.
IV.

1757. With the great commoner's entrance into power a new order of things arose in America. Lord Loudoun was superseded in March by Abercrombie, and General Webb soon after followed the former to England.¹ The same vessel which brought the news of Loudoun's recall, brought also circular letters from the minister to the colonial governors, informing them that the British cabinet had determined to send over a large force for offensive operations against the French both by sea and land; and calling upon them for as large a number of men as they felt able to raise according to their population. "Arms, ammunition, tents, provisions and boats, it was declared, would be furnished by the crown; and the Provincial governors, meanwhile, were desired to buy clothes and pay their troops, and appoint the officers of the various regiments."² All the provincial colonels were to be made brigadier generals, and the lieutenant colonels, while in service in America, were to rank as colonels.³ These tidings were hailed by the colonists with delight; sick, as their hearts had so long been, with hope long deferred. The recall of Loudoun was accepted by them as a desire of the parent government to conciliate; and they all, New England especially, entered into the work of coöperation with alacrity. Massachusetts raised seven thousand men, Connecticut five thousand, and New Hampshire one regiment of eight hundred. Rhode Island and New Jersey were not backward, and the assembly of New York having voted without hesitation, in March, to raise, clothe and pay two thousand six hundred and eighty men, besides providing for the support of every needy soldier's family in his absence, twenty thousand Provincials were in Albany, and ready to take the field early in May.

¹ General Webb's recall was attributed at the time to the representations of Colonel Monro to the ministry. Manuscript letter: Guy Johnson to Sir William Johnson.

²Grahame.

³ Manuscript letter: Rev. John Oglevie to Johnson, 28th March, 1758.

On the twenty-eighth of May, Admiral Boscawen, with ^{CHAP. IV.} twenty ships of the line and eighteen frigates freighted with an army of twelve thousand men under Amherst, sailed from Halifax for the reduction of Louisburg, and arrived before that fortress on the second of June. The garrison of this place, under the command of the Chevalier de Brocourt, included besides twenty-five hundred regulars, three hundred militia, and before the close of the siege, they were joined by three hundred and fifty Canadians and sixty Indians—thus increasing their force to about twelve hundred men. The governor, advised of the approach of the English fleet, had taken unusual measures for a vigorous defence, so that upon Boscawen's arrival, the latter found the harbor closed by the sinking of six ships in the channel, while a chain of fortifications along the coast for two and a half leagues, seemed to guard the remote places on the coast against a landing of the English. These precautions, however, did not defeat the resolution and daring of General Wolfe, who, having found a spot which had not been properly secured, landed the troops under a brisk and well-directed fire of the enemy, with but little loss. Having dislodged the enemy from their breastworks of felled trees, Wolfe took possession of the artillery which had been left by the French in their flight, and with his own, advanced under the direction of Amherst, cautiously throwing up entrenchments as he proceeded, until Louisburg itself was invested the same day. On the opposite side of the town, the siege was also pressed with vigor, though at the same time, owing to the known strength of the place and the resolute character of its defenders, with due caution. At length the shipping of the French having been nearly destroyed, and two of their vessels captured, thus placing the harbor in the entire possession of the English, the governor surrendered at discretion on the twenty-sixth of July. During the siege fifteen hundred of the garrison and four hundred of the English were either killed or wounded. It was, however, a victory well

CHAP. worth the cost. Five thousand prisoners including the
 IV. marines and sailors graced the triumph; and as two years
 1758. previously the colors taken by the French at Oswego had
 been sent to adorn the churches of Montreal and Quebec,
 so the colors taken from Louisburg "were carried in
 grand procession from Kensington palace to the cathedral
 of St. Pauls."¹

While preparations were making for a formidable and vigorous campaign against Ticonderoga, under General Abercrombie, who had resolved to lead the expedition in person, the French were making corresponding exertions to repel the expected invasion. With a view of creating a diversion, by annoying the colony of New York from another quarter, they were said to be preparing to invade the Mohawk valley, by the way of Oswego and the Oneida carrying-place. A party of their Indians from Swegatchie had made a bold irruption toward the close of April, upon Burnetsfield, on the south bank of the Mohawk, and destroyed the entire settlement—massacring men, women and children—thirty-three in number—being the whole population save two persons. There had likewise been outrages at the German Flats, where several Indians had been killed by the inhabitants. In this exigency the militia were promptly ordered into the field, to rendezvous at Canajoharie, whither Sir William repaired on the fourth of May to lead them against the enemy—reported on the same day to be in force at the Oneida carrying place.

Meantime it was well known that the French had not desisted from their efforts to seduce the five westernmost cantons of the Six Nations from their allegiance to the English. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Baronet, they had long had their Jesuit priests among the Oneidas and Onondagas; and a variety of circumstances had occurred to induce the Mohawks to distrust their brethren of the

¹ Grahame. Smollett.

other tribes. Under these circumstances, Sir William received the invitation thus noted in his journal. CHAP.
IV.

April 4th. Sir William had an invitation from the Six Nations to attend a grand meeting to be held at Onondaga within a few days hence, where he intends to proceed, in case the last alarm should prove groundless." 1758.

The Baronet arrived at Canajoharie in the evening, and attended a dance of their young warriors, having the scalp of one of the hostile Indians engaged in the recent irruption, who had been killed at the German Flats. He is thus spoken of in the journal—in the hand-writing of Peter Wraxall, his private secretary.

"The body of Otqueandagehte, an Onondaga warrior, who lived for some years at Swegatchie, and formerly a mate of Sir William, was found. His name was engraved on the handle of his knife, and how often he had been to war together with this inscription—*Otqueandagehte le camera de Jeanson.*"

Sir William, we have seen, was highly respected by the Six Nations, and by the Mohawks in particular was greatly beloved. His conduct moreover in another difficulty which had occurred in January between the garrison of Fort Hunter and the Mohawks, in which he had taken the part of the Indians and caused the garrison to be removed on account of their conduct, had endeared him more than ever to the latter.¹ This affection was not only manifested by their actions, but often in their speeches, at their councils, and in their concern for his welfare when sick, and for his safety when in the field.² Such being their feelings

¹ For a detailed account of the grievances suffered by the Indians from the garrison, see a speech made in reference to this matter to Sir William by one of their chiefs, Appendix No. 1. of vol. II

² To this point, at the close of a small council Sir William says—"When I drank to them at parting, they in return drank my health, and thanked God I had recovered my late illness. They then all said that it was happy I did not die then; for, said they, 'had you died, we and the English would get by the ears very soon, we see; and we fear it will be the case

CHAP. toward the Baronet, they were reluctant, under existing
IV. } circumstances, to allow him to place himself in the power
1758. of the Indians about to assemble at the great council fire
at Onondaga. They were likewise apprehensive that he
might incur danger from some of the French scalping
parties. These explanations will render the following
additional extracts from the diary intelligible:

"*May 5th.* Sir William having no farther accounts of
the enemy's appearance, sent a scout of two Mohawks,
two Canajoharies, and a white man, to go as far as Wood
creek and the Oneida lake, in order to obtain the certainty
of the alarm. About noon all the women of the chief
men of their castle met at Sir William's lodging, and
brought with them several of the sachems, who acquainted
Sir William that they had something to say to him in the
name of their chief women."

"Old Nicholas (Brant¹) being appointed speaker, opened
his discourse with condoling with Sir William for the
losses his people had sustained, and then proceeded:

"*Brother:* We understand you intend to go to a meet-
ing to Onondaga; we can't help speaking with this belt of
wampum to you, and giving our sentiments on your intended
journey. In the first place we think it quite contrary to
the customs of any governors or superintendent of Indian
affairs being called to Onondaga upon public business, as
the council fire which burns there serves only for private
consultations of the Confederacy; and when matters are
concluded and resolved upon there, the Confederacy are to
set out for the great fire-place which is at your house, and
there deliver their conclusion. In the next place we are

when you die or leave us.' " Again at another council the chiefs com-
menced their speech.

"Brother, we are extremely glad to see you so well recovered of your
late very dangerous illness, and thank the Great Spirit above for it. Had
you been taken away from us at that time, our case would have been melan-
choly, and our situation extremely precarious. It will be so, we fear,
whenever we lose you."—Diary, Jan. 14–19, 1758.

¹ Father of Joseph.

almost convinced that the invitation is illegal, and not agreed upon as desired by the Confederacy, but only the Oneidas—which gives us the more reason to be uneasy about your going, as it looks very suspicious. Did not they tell you, when they invited you, the road of friendship was clear, and every obstacle removed that was in before? They scarce uttered it, and the cruelties were committed at the German Flats, where the remainder of our poor brethren were butchered by the enemy's Indians. Is this a clear road of peace and friendship? Would not you be obliged to wade all the way in blood of the poor innocent men, women and children who were murdered after being taken?

“Brother: By this belt of wampum, we, the women, surround and hang about you like little children, who are crying at their parents, going from them, for fear of their never returning again to give them suck; and we earnestly beg you will give ear to our request, and desist from your journey. We flatter ourselves you will look upon this our speech, and take the same notice of it as all our men do, who, when they are addressed by the women, and desired to desist from any rash enterprise, they immediately give way, when, before, every body else tried to dissuade them from it, and could not prevail.”

Gave the belt.

“Canajoharie, May 7th. This afternoon Sir William had a meeting with the chief women of this castle, and returned them thanks for their condolence of the fifth instant. At the same time he condoled with them for the loss of one of the tribe of the Bear, that belonged to the chief of that tribe, with a stroud blanket, a shirt, and stockings.”

A string of wampum.

“Sir William told them that he would answer their speech concerning his journey, when the messengers who had gone to Oneida came back. He also made private

CHAP. presents to a few of the head women of each tribe, with
 IV. a blanket and shirt each."

1758. "May 9th. The messengers that were sent to Oneida to ask the opinion of that nation with regard to Sir William's journey to Onondaga returned, and reported that after the chiefs of the Upper castle were met they delivered their message to them. Whereupon they gave the following reply:

"*Brother Waraghiyaghey*: We take your message very kind and are glad you were so ready to attend our meeting to be held at Onondaga, and that you acquainted us of your being on the road."

Returned Sir William's message belt.

"*Brother*: Your desire of having our young men come down to the German Flats in order to escort you here, should have been willingly complied with, but as contrary to our expectation the enemy have committed fresh hostilities and spilt blood upon the road you are to pass: besides as we have certain intelligence of three different bodies of the enemy now making preparations at the following places on Lake Ontario, viz: one at Cayahagey or Fish Creek, the other at Oswego, and another at Niagara, which are to rendezvous at the Oneida carrying place, and there make a descent upon your country, we sincerely advise and beg of you to stop where you are and not to proceed any farther. For should anything happen to you on your journey, the loss to us would be very irreparable, and our Brethren, the English, might suspect us of having a hand in it; at the same time we think your presence at home will be very necessary in order to prepare for receiving the enemy.

"Wherefore by this Belt of Wampum we desire you will be easy in your mind, and be assured that as soon as the meeting is over you shall have a genuine and full detail of every matter transacted at Onondaga."

Gave a large Belt.

"May 10th. This afternoon Sir William returned his

answer to the speech of the chief women of this castle made to him on the fifth instant, which is as follows: CHAP.
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“*Dyatlego*, your tender and affectionate speech, made some days ago, I have considered, and therefore have dispatched messengers to Oneida, in order to inquire how things stand there after what happened at the German Flats, and whether my presence at the meeting would be still necessary. These messengers are returned, and I find by them that the sachems of Oneida likewise disapprove my proceeding any farther, for sundry reasons they give in their reply. Wherefore I shall comply with your request to return, and heartily thank you for the great tenderness and love expressed for me in your speech.” 1758.

Returned their Belt.”

“*May 13th.* Sir William having ordered a scout to go to Oswego, and settled everything else, dismissed the militia and returned home, and arrived at his house the same day.”

On the twenty-sixth of the same month, the Baronet held a meeting with the sachems and warriors of the Mohawks, and informed them that General Abercrombie expected that he would join him in about three weeks at Lake George, and bring with him all the Indians he could muster. The Mohawks assured him that they would attend him to a man, at the same time cheerfully offering to escort his messengers to all the other cantons of the Confederacy. The Baronet also received at this time a letter from the Stockbridge Indians tendering him their services in the proposed campaign against Ticonderoga. This latter offer, however, was not accepted.

For the prosecution of the campaign against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, an army of regular troops and Provincials was assembled, unprecedented for its numbers in the annals thus far of American warfare. General Abercrombie, as before remarked, determined to lead the expedition in person. The rendezvous of the formidable

CHAP. IV. army destined upon this service, was at the head of Lake
 George, where the charred ruins of Fort William Henry
 1758. yet remained.

The morning of the fifth of July—the day of the embarkation—was clear and beautiful. The spectacle was full of life and animation, and withal very imposing. The forces collected on the occasion numbered seven thousand British troops of the line, and upward of ten thousand Provincials, exclusive of the many hundreds of non-combatants necessarily in the train of such an army. The flotilla for their transportation to Ticonderoga, consisted of nine hundred bateaux, and one hundred and thirty-five whale-boats, together with a sufficient number of rafts to convey the heavy stores and ammunition, and the artillery to cover the landing of the troops, in the neighborhood of the works first to be invested. The utmost confidence of success inspired both officers and men, and all was activity and gayety in getting in motion, from the instant the *reveille* started the armed host from their repose at the dawn, until the embarkation was complete. So sure were all of an easy victory, that they went forth as to a grand review, or the pageant of a national festival. A part of England's "chivalry was gathered there," of whom was the accomplished Lord Howe, distinguished alike for his generosity, his gallantry and his courage. Many other young noblemen of high bearing and promise, were also there; together with a still greater number of nature's noblemen, in the persons of New England's hardy sons, both in commission and in the ranks. Nor were the spirited colonists of New York unrepresented. Their sons, both of English and Dutch descent, sustained a generous rivalry in their chivalrous bearing, and evinced an equal readiness to "rush to glory or the grave," for the honor of their country. These proud-spirited Americans, with the blood of freemen hotly coursing through their veins, neither knew nor cared whether they were descended from the Talbots, the John of Gaunts, or the Percys; but their hearts beat as high,

and their souls were as brave, and their sinewy arms could strike as heavy blows, as those who could trace the longest ancestry, or wore the proudest crest. There, also, was the proud Highland regiment of Lord John Murray, with their bag-pipes, their tartan breacan, fringed down their brawny legs, and their black plumes in their bonnets. What an array, and what a splendid armament, for a small and quiet lake, sequestered so deeply in the interior of what was then a woody continent, and embedded in a wild and remote chasm, among a hundred mountains! Yet in this lonely and inhospitable region, "where there were nothing but rocks and solitudes, and bleak mountains to contend for, was to be the theatre on which the disputes between the rival courts of St. James and St. Cloud were to be decided—and on which, the embattled hosts of Europe, at the distance of a thousand leagues from their respective homes, were to be joined in the bloody conflict for empire!"

The morning being perfectly clear, after the light mists which floated gracefully along the sides of the hills had disappeared, the sky glowed brighter and purer than many in that army had ever seen it. Before them, at their feet, lay the crystal waters of the lake like a mirror of molten silver—the green islands tufted with trees, floating as it were in the clear element. In the camp, on the open esplanade by the shore, was the mustering of troops, the hurrying to and fro of the officers, the rattling of armor, the neighing of steeds, with all the inharmonious confusion which such a scene must necessarily present. Beyond, wide spread upon the lake, were the thousand barges, shifting and changing places as convenience required, the banners of the different regiments streaming gaily in the breeze, while the swell of cheerful voices, the rolling of the drums, the prolonged and exhilarating notes of the trumpet, as they resounded among the mountains, combined to throw over the whole wild region an air of enchantment.

Indeed the whole of this memorable passage of Lake George resembled more the pageant of a grand aquatic

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CHAP. gala, or a dream of romance, than a chapter of stern his-
IV. tory. Stretching down the lake, the scenery partook of
1758. the same wild and glorious character, and every mile of
their progress disclosed new objects of wonder, or presented
fresh sources of delight. It was a day of unmingled pleasure. A fine elastic breeze swept through the gorges of the mountains, serving to brace the nerves, and produce a glow of good feeling, humor and hilarity, which lasted till the setting sun. The animal spirits were often cheered and enlivened by favorite airs from the well appointed regimental bands. Wheeling aloft, with untiring wing, as if moving with, and watching over the armament, were several noble bald-eagles, whose eyries hung on the beetling crags, affording to the soldiers a happy presage of victory! The bag-pipes of the Highlanders would thrill every soul in the armada with the pibroch, or an expert bugleman electrify the multitude by causing the hills and the glens to echo with the stirring notes wound from his instrument. The effect of the varying and shifting movements of the barges among the islands, with their different streamers fluttering in the air, now shooting in this direction, and now running in that—was exceedingly fine, animating and romantic. Taking these movements in connexion with the nodding of plumes, the dazzling glitter of polished armor, and the flashing of the oars, as at every stroke they rose from the sparkling waters, the whole prospect, seen at a glance, was of surpassing magnificence. Far different was the scene presented the following day, when amid the lengthening shadows of the mountains, a solitary barge bore back the remains of him who was the soul of the expedition—Lord Howe.

The landing of the troops was effected in good order in a cove on the west side of the lake at noon of the following day. Here the troops formed in four columns and began their march, leaving behind all the artillery and heavy baggage, which could not be transported until the bridges, that the advanced guard of the enemy had burned in their

retreat, could be rebuilt. The purpose of Abercrombie ^{CHAP. IV.} was to hasten forward and carry Ticonderoga by storm before the reinforcements which, it was said, were hastening to the relief of Montcalm under De Levy, could arrive. But the British general could easier manœuvre his troops in Hyde Park, than conduct them through dense woods, and over morasses covered with thick and tangled underbrush. He grew confused; the guides became bewildered; and to increase the general perplexity, the advance party fell in with a body of the enemy, under De Trépézée, who had lost their way, and in the skirmish that ensued the gallant Howe fell at the head of his men. The utter route of De Trépézée's party, however, was but a small compensation for the loss which the English had sustained in the death of their young leader. The fate of this officer, who was the life of the men, at once threw a damper and a gloom over the entire army; and from that moment "an almost general consternation and languor" took the place of the previous confidence and buoyancy.¹ Utterly discomfited at this untoward occurrence on the very threshold, as it were, of the expedition, Abercrombie uncertain what course to pursue, drew back his army early the next morning to the landing place.

While the British general was yet hesitating, Colonel Bradstreet with Rogers and four hundred rangers, pushed forward, rebuilt the bridges, and took possession of some saw mills which the French had erected at the lower rapids, about two miles from Ticonderoga.² The indomitable energy of the provincial colonel, reassured Abercrombie, who now advanced with his army to the saw mills, and sent forward Clerk, his chief engineer, together with Stark and a few rangers, to reconnoiter the enemy's works. The party returned at dusk. Clerk reported, that, although to

¹ Rogers's Journal.

² These rapids are caused by the descent of the waters of Lake George into Lake Champlain. The outlet of Lake George is four miles in length, and in that distance falls about 157 feet.

CHAP. an unpracticed eye, the defences of the French appeared
 IV. strong, yet in reality they would offer but a feeble resistance
 1758. to the charge of the British bayonet. The cool Stark, however, was of a different opinion. Without doubt recollecting the successful resistance which the rude and hastily constructed breastworks of Johnson, three years before, had opposed to the flower of the French regulars, he rightly judged that the defences of Montcalm were capable of withstanding a powerful attack, and so informed Abercrombie. His advice, however, was rejected by that commander, as worthy only of an ignorant Provincial unacquainted with British prowess; and the army having rested on their arms that night, the English commander, early on the morning of the eighth, gave orders to advance without artillery, and to carry the enemy's works at the point of the bayonet.

Just as the army were leaving their encampment, they were overtaken by Sir William Johnson with three hundred Indians. The Baronet had fully intended to join Abercrombie at the rendezvous at the head of Lake George. Why he did not, will appear from the following letter written by him to that general.

*“Camp in the woods within ten miles of Fort Edward,
 July 5th, 1758–6 in the morning.*

“Sir:

“I arrived here last night with near two hundred Indians of the Five Nations and others. Mr. Croghan and some of the Indian officers are within a day's march of me with about one hundred more, as I hear by letters from him. I hope they will be with me at Fort Edward this afternoon, and with you at the lake to-morrow. I set off from my house last Thursday with as many as I could then get sober to move with me, which were but very few, for liquor was as plenty among them as ditch water, being brought up from Schenectady by their and other squaws as well as whites, and sold to them at night in spite of all I could do. These have since joined me by small parties. I assure

your excellency, no man ever had more trouble than I have had to get them away from the liquor; and if the fate of the whole country depended upon my moving a day sooner, I could not do it without leaving them behind, and disgusting all the nations. When I have the honor of seeing your excellency, I shall be able to let you know the many difficulties I had to surmount, since I received your orders.

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“I am with all due respect,

“Your Excellency’s most obedient

“and most humble servant.

“WM. JOHNSON.

“His Excellency,

“Major General Abercrombie.”¹

For the defence of Ticonderoga against the formidable preparations of the English, Montcalm had but thirty-six hundred and fifty men. Instead, however, of despairing, he caused a heavy breastwork of logs to be constructed within six hundred paces of the main works; while at the same time, trees were felled, and laid with their branches outward, for a distance of a hundred yards in front of the log breastwork. Then throwing off his coat in the trenches, and forbidding his men to fire a musket until he should give the word, he calmly awaited the approach of the British.

At one o’clock, the English, preceded by Captain Rogers and his sharp shooters, advanced gallantly in four columns to the attack. At the first onset, the ranks of the English were thrown into confusion by the branches of the trees, and at the same time, at a signal from Montcalm, a terrific fire was opened upon them from swivels and small arms. In vain was it, that the English rallied and endeavored

¹ Manuscript letter: In the text, I have stated that Abercrombie was joined by Johnson with three hundred Indians. Rogers, it is true, says in his journal, four hundred and forty, but as it appears from this letter written on the 5th, that his whole available force was only three hundred, and as he must have started immediately to join Abercrombie, Rogers, I think, is mistaken.

CHAP. again and again to penetrate through the trees to the
IV.

1758. } entrenchments beyond. The more they struggled the
more they became entangled in the branches, while rank
after rank was mowed down by the well directed and gall-
ing fire of the enemy. Driven from the left, they attempted
the centre, then the right, till at length after sustaining
without flinching, the enemy's fire for over five hours, they
retreated in the utmost disorder, having lost in killed and
wounded, nineteen hundred and sixty-seven men.

The British were still more than twelve thousand strong,
with plenty of artillery, with which the enemy might easily
have been driven from their entrenchments. Abercrombie,
however, instead of bringing up his artillery and rallying
his men, had retreated, upon the first news of the defeat,
from the mills (where he had remained during the fight)
leaving orders for the army to follow him to the landing;
and while the entire night was spent by Montcalm in
strengthening his defences and encouraging his men, the
English were retreating in the footsteps of their valorous
commander. Reaching the landing early on the morning of
the ninth, the army in wild affright would have rushed into
the bateaux and sunk the greater portion of them, had
not Colonel Bradstreet by his coolness convinced them that
there was no immediate danger, and prevailed upon them
to embark quietly and in good order. Nor did Abercrom-
bie breathe freely until Lake George was between himself
and the French, and his artillery and ammunition fairly
on their way to Albany.

Great was the consternation among the colonists, at the
unexpected repulse of the gallant army that had so recently
gone forth from among them, as they supposed, to a sure
victory. A panic seized the inhabitants along the whole
of the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. Every rumor, no
matter how wild or absurd, was quickly spread, and eagerly
believed.¹ A small party of Indians, who had attacked a

¹ "My mother and Katy keep up their spirits as well as can be expected
considering the frequent shocks they get from the reports that fly through

convoy of wagoners at Halfway Brook between Fort Edward and Lake George, was magnified by the excited citizens of Albany into a large army following the retreating footsteps of the English; and when, a few days afterward, the same party waylaid and defeated a body of rangers under Rogers and Putnam who had been sent out to intercept them, the rumor reached the settlements that the French army was on its march to Albany and had advanced as far as Fort Edward. In Schenectady and Albany, the militia, by order of the Baronet, were called out, and the guards doubled; while for additional protection, large numbers of men, stationed in the block houses, kept a sharp watch by day and by night.¹

Colonel Bradstreet burned to retrieve the disgrace which the shameful retreat of the army had brought upon British arms. Early in the spring he had asked permission to lead an expedition against Fort Frontinac, but had been put off by Abercrombie with frivolous excuses. Now, however, he renewed his importunities, and with so much success, that a council of war by a small majority granted him the required permission; and the first of August found him at the Oneida carrying place in close consultation with General Stanwix, who by the orders of Abercrombie through the representation of Sir William Johnson, was erecting there a strong fort. Having received from Stanwix a force of twenty-seven hundred Provincials, eleven hundred of whom were New Yorkers, and having been joined by Red Head with forty-two of his warriors, the colonel embarked at Oswego in open boats upon Lake Ontario. The success which rewarded his resolution, will be seen from the fol-

the country about the army. Our ears have been filled with nothing these several days but the report of death, blood and slaughter. We heard that Lord Howe was killed, and five thousand of our men blown up with a mine at Ticonderoga, and that the York and Jersey forces made three thousand of that unhappy number, which filled us with the greatest concern."—*Manuscript Letter to Lt. Col. Clinton from his son-in-law J. McClaghey.*

¹ Manuscripts of Sir William Johnson.

CHAP. lowing letter to Sir William from Captain Thomas Butler,
IV. whom the former had dispatched with the expedition in
1758. charge of the Indian warriors :

CADARACQUI, 28th Aug., 1758.

“ Sir :

“ I am to acquaint you that upon the 25th instant we landed without any opposition within one mile of the French Fort where we encamped. Early in the morning of the 26th, we landed our cannon, drew them near the fort upon which we fired and they at us, which lasted the whole day, and not one of our people hurt. In the night we got two entrenchments made within two hundred yards of the enemy's fort. The enemy fired away briskly with cannon and small arms at us all this night, with but little fire from us, only once in a while a bomb. On the twenty-seventh our cannon played on the fort very briskly, which the monsieurs finding too hot, came out to capitulate, and about twelve o'clock we took possession. The remainder of the day was spent in destroying the fort, shipping, &c., the latter of which were nine, and not one escaped. In the evening the French, being about one hundred and fifty men, went to Canada according to agreement, but are to return the like number of our prisoners, among whom is to be Colonel Schuyler.¹ It's undescribable the quantity of stores we found here. We have a brig and a schooner which we keep to carry plunder to Oswego. In the whole of this action we have not lost a man, and only two or three slightly wounded. One of the enemy had his thigh shot off whom Red Head scalped. They lost some by the bursting of their cannon, and some few wounded by our shot. We are making ready to set off this day, but the wind is pretty hard ahead. This will go by some Onondagas whom Col. Bradstreet sends express.

“ I am Sir,

“ With all respect,

“ THOMAS BUTLER.

¹ Col. Schuyler was taken by Montcalm at the surrender of Oswego.

"P. S. The enemy have not one vessel left in this lake. CHAP.
"Sir Wm. Johnson, Bart." ^{IV.}

The single brief postscript in the above letter, reveals, ^{1758.} perhaps, more than anything else, the importance of this victory of Bradstreet—a victory that more than compensated for the defeat of Abererombie. By it, the possession of the entire lake was wrested from the French, and the communication between Canada and her posts in the Ohio valley completely cut off. These advantages were at once seen by the English, who now felt as much elated and encouraged, as the French were correspondingly depressed. "I am not discouraged," wrote Montcalm, admitting by this very remark his deep chagrin, "nor are my troops. We are resolved to find our graves under the ruins of the colony." By no one was the capture of Frontinac appreciated more than by Secretary Pitt. Understanding thoroughly the topography of America, his comprehensive mind at once perceived that it was but one more step to the possession of Fort Du Quesne; and while the minister was yet hoping for that result, the deed had already been accomplished.

The command of the forces destined against Fort Du Quesne, was given to Brigadier General Forbes, who set out from Philadelphia with the main body of the army in the early part of July. Serious delays, however, retarded the advance of the army, some of which were due to the conduct of Forbes himself, while for others he was not responsible. Before advancing upon Du Quesne, Forbes wished to hold a conference with the Delawares and the Six Nations.² This project was strenuously opposed by Sir William Johnson, who perceived that if such a council was held, its effect would be to seriously diminish the number of those Indians whom he proposed to take with him to join the expedition against Ticonderoga. Finally,

¹ Manuscript letter: Red Head and his braves received \$2500 from Sir William, for their services on this occasion.

² Manuscript letter: Governor Denny to Johnson, 30th Aug., 1758.

CHAP. IV. Forbes consented to postpone the council until autumn, though not until a lengthy correspondence had been held
 1758. upon the subject between Governor Denny, Sir William and Abercrombie, and the latter had imperatively commanded him to relinquish his design.¹ Scarcely, however, had this matter been settled, when Forbes insisted, against the advice of Colonel Washington and other Provincial officers, upon sending forward fifteen hundred men to open a new road to the Ohio which, it was insisted, would make the route to Fort Du Quesne sixty miles nearer than by the old Braddock road.² General Forbes, also, was taken ill, and the contractors were remiss in furnishing the requisite number of wagons for the transportation of the stores³—so that it was not until the middle of September that the main army reached Raystown. Instead, however, of advancing immediately with the entire force at his command, Forbes sent forward Bouquet to occupy Loyal Hanna with two thousand men. “This is the advance party,” wrote George Croghan from Easton to Sir William Johnson, “and I dread every day to hear that the enemy have given them a thrashing.”⁴ His apprehensions were indeed well founded, for even while he was writing the above sentence, a party of Highlanders that Bouquet had sent out on his own responsibility to reconnoitre the fort, fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians, and were completely routed. Three hundred men were either killed or wounded; and Major Grant, the leader of the party, and nineteen officers, were carried prisoners into Canada.

¹ Manuscript correspondence between General Abercrombie and Sir William Johnson.

² “General Forbes wrote to me the 26th, that he had been ill, but was so well recovered as to propose to join the army at the camp at Rays Town. Fifteen hundred of the Provincials are sent forward to complete the new road on the other side of Laurel Hill, which is a shorter cut to Fort Du Quesne than Mr. Braddock’s road by at least sixty miles, and falls on the Ohio above the French fort.—*Manuscript letter: Governor Denny to Johnson, 30th August, 1758.*

³ Manuscript letter: George Croghan to Johnson, Sept. 1758.

⁴ *Idem.*

On the fifth of November, Forbes with his army reached Loyal Hama. The season was far advanced, and the army were yet more than forty miles from their destination. A council of war decided that the army should go into winter quarters, and buildings for that purpose were already erecting at Raystown.¹ Washington could scarcely contain his displeasure at such a determination, and upon its being ascertained on the the twelfth from three prisoners, that the garrison of Fort Du Quesne was in no condition to resist an attack, he obtained permission to push forward with his Virginians, while the main army should follow in his rear. Such was the energy which the young hero infused into the army, that on the twenty-third, the advance were within a day's march of the fort; and on the approach of the English, the next day, the garrison, numbering scarcely five hundred men and poorly supplied with provisions, fired their fort, and in wild terror fled down the Ohio; and the next morning, the red man, as he timorously approached the smouldering ruins, beheld the cross of Saint George, where for so long had floated the lilies of France.

As the struggle for the possession of the Ohio valley had begun the contest, with the reoccupation of that valley was the war in America virtually brought to a close; and as Du Quesne, who had been most active in expelling the English from the Ohio, had given his name to the fort, so was it just, that the statesman, through whose energy the fort at length fell, should be ever remembered by the name of PITTSBURG.

The Delawares and the Shawanese of the Alleghany and Ohio were yet upon the war path, and although the horrors of the border warfare were somewhat mitigated by the peace with Teedyuscung, they were by no means at an end. More especially were the frontiers of Virginia exposed to the invasions of the Shawnese. Efforts for a

¹ Manuscript letter; Croghan to Johnson, Sept., 1758.

CHAP. more general pacification were therefore continued, under
IV. the auspices of the Quakers. But the French were
1758. strongly posted in the beginning of this year at Venango
and Fort Du Quesne; and they were assiduous and plausible
in cultivating the friendship of the Indians, and lavish
in their presents. It was consequently a difficult matter
to obtain access to the Indian towns thickly studding the
more western rivers, or induce the tribes to open their
ears to any body but the French.

A most fitting and worthy agent to bear a message of
peace to those Indians, was, however, found in the person
of Christian Frederick Post. He was a plain, honest
German, of the Moravian sect, who had resided seventeen
years with the Indians, a part of which period had been
passed in the valley of Wyoming, and he had twice married
among them. He was therefore well acquainted with the
Indian character, and was intimately known to many, both
Shawanese and Delawares, who had also resided at Wyom-
ing. The service required of him was alike severe and
arduous. A dreary wilderness was to be traversed, ravines
threaded and mountains scaled; and when these obstacles
were surmounted, even if he did not meet with a stealthy
enemy before, with his life in his hand he was to throw
himself into the heart of an enemy's country—and that
enemy as treacherous and cruel, when in a state of exas-
peration, as ever civilized man has been doomed to
encounter. But Christian Frederick Post entered upon
the perilous mission with the courage and spirit of a
Christian. Accompanied by two or three Indian guides,
he crossed the rivers and mountains twice in the summer
and autumn of this year, visited many of the Indian
towns, passed and repassed the French Fort at Venango,
and held a council with the Indians almost under the guns
of Fort Du Quesne. Far the greater part of the Indians
received him with friendship, and his message of
peace with gladness. They had such perfect confidence
in his integrity and truth, that every effort of the French

to circumvent him was unavailing. They kept a captain ^{CHAP. IV.} and more than fifteen soldiers hanging about him for several days, watching his every movement, and listening to ^{1758.} all that was said; and various schemes were devised at first to make him prisoner, and ultimately to take his life; but although one of his guides had a forked tongue, and was seduced from him at Fort Du Quesne, yet the Indians upon whom he had thrown himself, with so much confidence and moral courage, interposed for his counsel and protection in every case of danger, and would not allow a hair of his head to be injured. He was charged with messages both from Teedyuscung and Governor Denny. To the former they would not listen for a moment. Indeed that chieftain seemed to be the object of their strong dislike, if not of their positive hate. They would, therefore, recognise nothing that he had done at Easton; but they received the messages of the governor with the best possible feeling. It was evident from all their conversation with Christian Post, whose journal is as artless as it is interesting, that they had been deceived by the representations of the French, and deluded into a belief that, while it was the intention of the English to plunder them of all their lands, the French were themselves actuated solely by the benevolent motive of driving the English back across the water, and restoring the Indians to all the possessions which the Great Spirit had given them. Convinced by Post of the fraud that had been practised upon their understandings, their yearnings for peace gathered intensity every day. Several times, during his conversations with the chiefs of different towns, as he undeceived them in regard to the real designs of the French, their minds seemed filled with melancholy perplexity, a conviction of what was not wide of the truth flashed upon them, and once at least, the apprehension was uttered, that it was but a struggle between the English and French, which should possess their whole country, after the Indians had been exterminated between them. "Why do not the great

CHAP. IV. kings of England and France," they inquired, "do their
 1758. fighting in their own country, and not come over the great waters to fight on our hunting grounds?" The question was too deep for honest Christian Frederick Post to answer. However, the inclination of the Indians was decidedly toward the English, and the result of his second embassy, in the autumn of this year, after encountering fresh difficulties and dangers, was a reconciliation with the Indians of the Ohio country, in consequence of which, the French were obliged to abandon the whole of that territory, as we have seen, to General Forbes, after destroying with their own hands the strong fortress of Du Quesne.

Great, however, as was the influence of Christian Frederick Post with the western Delawares and Shawanese, he is by no means entitled to the entire credit of bringing about a peace. The efforts of Sir William Johnson were incessantly directed to the same end, and the many councils which he held at his own house this year with the Delawares, Shawanese, Cherokees and Catawbias, were not without their effect. The fact was, the French were omitting no exertions to win the Six Nations from their alliance with the English. In this design they were partially successful, and the British Indian superintendent, great as was his influence with the red men, had his hands full to prevent the mass of the Six Nations from deserting him, during the years 1756 and 1757, and joining the French. True, the Mohawks, Oneidas, and Tuscaroras, as has been seen, maintained their allegiance to the British crown, and were not backward upon the war-path; but the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, against the strongest remonstrances of Sir William, had declared themselves neutral; while large numbers of the Senecas and Cayugas actually took up the hatchet with the Western Indians, in alliance with the French.¹

The defection probably would have been greater, but for circumstances that occurred at Fort Du Quesne, late in

¹ Manuscripts of Sir William Johnson.

the year 1757, and in the beginning of the present year. CHAP.
IV.
 These circumstances, which will be presently explained, while they evinced the absence, for a time, of the usual 1758.
 tact and sagacity of the French, had admirably opened the way for Christian Post's mission, while they had the effect of at once relieving Sir William from his embarrassing position in regard to the equivocal attitude of three of the Six Nations. It has been seen that the Baronet had interposed, not only directly but through the means of some of his Indians, in producing the partial peace with the Delawares and Teedyuseung. Sir William had also succeeded in forming an alliance with the Cherokees, some of whom had gone upon the war-path in the neighborhood of Fort Du Quesne. They were likewise exerting themselves to detach the Western Indians, as far as might be, from the French.¹

It was in this posture of affairs, that late in the year 1757, a war-party of the Twightwees, (Miamies,) in a frolic close by the fortress of Du Quesne, killed a number of cattle belonging to the French in the fort. In a moment of exasperation, without pausing to reflect upon the consequences, the French fired upon the aggressors, and killed some ten or twelve of their number. The Twightwees were deeply incensed at this outrage, and the Western Indians sympathized at the loss of their braves. It was not long, probably, before their resolution was taken not only to withdraw from the French service, but to avenge the untimely fall of their warriors.¹

While the Twightwees were thus brooding over this wrong, the Delawares intercepted a French dispatch, in which the project was proposed and discussed, of cutting off and utterly exterminating the Six Nations—forming, as they did, so strong a barrier between the French and English colonies. The Indians found some one among them to read the document, and they no sooner under-

¹ Manuscripts of Sir William Johnson.

² Ibid.

CHAP. stood its full purport, than they repaired to the fortress in
IV. a body, and charged the project home upon the commander.

1758. That officer was either confused, or he attempted to dissemble. He likewise tried, but without success, to obtain the document from them. They kept it, and its contents were the occasion of wide-spread consternation among the Indians. But this is not all. In March, of this year, a deputation of the Senecas waited upon Sir William, with a message from the Delawares, the purport of which was, that the French had recently convened a great council of the North-western Indians at Detroit, at which the same project of exterminating the Six Nations was proposed and discussed. The pretext urged upon them by the French was, that the Six Nations were wrongfully claiming the territory of their western brethren, and were they to be crushed and extinguished, there would be no more difficulty upon the subject. The Western Indians would come into the full enjoyment of their own again, without question as to jurisdiction. They therefore proposed that all the Indians should join them "in cutting off the Six Nations from the face of the earth." This proposition startled the Delawares, who, after the council, determined to apprise the Senecas of the plot, and send to them the hatchet which they had received from the French to use against the English. They desired the Senecas to keep the hatchet for them, as they were determined not to use it again, unless by direction of their cousins. Having received the message and the hatchet, the Senecas called a council to deliberate upon the subject. The hatchet they had resolved to throw into deep water, where it could not be found for three centuries, and they now came to Sir William with the information, and for counsel. It so happened that the information was in full confirmation of the predictions which Sir William had many times uttered to the Indians, in his efforts to prevent any friendly intercourse between them and the French. These predictions the Senecas, in their present troubles, remembered with

lively impressions of the Baronet's sagacity; and the result of the interview, was an entire alienation of the Senecas and Cayugas from the French. CHAP.
IV.
1758.

On the nineteenth of April following, the Shawanese and Delawares of Ohio, sent a message of peace to Sir William. A council of the Mohawks was immediately convened, at the suggestion of the Superintendent, and it was determined, in the event of war, that the Shawanese and Delawares should find an asylum from the French at Venango and Fort Du Quesne, once more in the valley of Wyoming. But the evacuation, by the French, of the Ohio country soon afterward, as already mentioned, rendered no such formal removal necessary.¹ Meantime another and much larger council was holden at Easton, in October, at which all the Six Nations, and most of the Delaware tribes, the Shawanese, the Miamies, and some of the Mohickanders were represented. The number of Indians assembled was about five hundred. Sir William was present in his Deputy, George Croghan, and the governments of Pennsylvania and New Jersey were likewise represented. Teedyuscung assumed a conspicuous position as a conductor of the discussions, at which the Six Nations were disposed for a time to be offended—reviving again their claim to superiority. But the Delaware chief was not in a humor to yield the distinction he had already acquired, and he sustained himself throughout with eloquence and dignity.²

The object of this treaty was chiefly the adjustment of boundaries, and to extend and brighten the chain of friendship, not only between the Indians themselves, but between their nations collectively and the whites. It was a convention of much harmony toward the close, and after nineteen days sittings, every difficulty being adjusted, they separated with great cordiality and good will.

¹ Manuscripts of Sir William Johnson.

² Chapman.

CHAPTER V.

1759.

CHAP. On the last day of January, a new assembly met.
IV. { Although the term of the one elected in 1752, would not
1759. expire until February of this year,¹ yet the lieutenant governor had chosen on the sixteenth of December last to dissolve it, “not,” as he said,” for any distrust of their proceedings, but as his majesty’s commands for the operations of the ensuing year against the enemy had not come over, and probably would not arrive till near the time when the assembly must expire by the limitation of the septennial act; if the assembly should not during their continuance go through the business then to be recommended to them, the public service would be delayed and perhaps disapproved.”

Upon the return of the members to the new assembly, it was at once evident that the power of the De Lancey faction, so long dominant in the house, was at an end. The real motive of Mr. De Lancey’s controversy with Clinton, was now apparent; while the course that he had pursued in relation to the college charter, and the consequent præminence given to one denomination in the minority, had alienated many of his warmest friends.² It is not surprising, therefore, that the various expedients which had been adopted to procure the return of the old members—among which had been the passing, at the close of the last session, a five pound act for the benefit of the trading factors—should have proved unavailing. Fifteen new members were elected to the house, who, being the lead-

¹ By a law, the same assembly could not continue sitting longer than seven years.

² Smith.

ers of the sectaries, were of course opposed to the lieutenant governor; while at the same time, "their abilities only increased the difficulties of managing their humors, and the more so as by their opulence they were indifferent to the smiles or frowns of a party they meant to check and subvert."¹ Philip Livingston, a popular alderman, was elected to represent the city. William Livingston, who had exerted himself so strenuously in opposing the sectarian college charter, was returned from his brother's manor, and three others of the same name were sent by different districts.² "From this time," says Smith, "we shall distinguish the opposition under the name of the Livingston party, though it did not always proceed from motives approved of by that family."

The spirit of faction, however, in the present assembly was not rife; and although the influence of Mr. De Lancey was still powerful in the council, yet both branches of the legislature felt that the exigencies of the times were too great for them to waste their energies in party wrangling. They fully realized the fact that their very existence was at stake; and they now cheerfully coöperated with the parent government in repelling the common enemy. The wheels of government therefore rolled smoothly without any of that jarring which had been so characteristic of former assemblies. The answer of both branches to the opening speech of the executive, congratulating them on the reduction of Fort Du Quesne, was full of warm, and without doubt, sincere professions of zeal for the welfare of the crown and their country: and to the request of the minister, the latter part of February, for twenty thousand troops from New York and New England, they responded heartily. It was at once resolved to raise and equip two thousand six hundred and eighty men as their proportion; while to stimulate enlistments, a bounty of fifteen pounds was offered to each recruit, with an additional sum of twenty

¹ Smith.

² Sedgwick's *Life of Livingston*.

CHAP. V. shillings to the recruiting officer. These expenses were to
 1758. be defrayed by the emission of one hundred thousand pounds in bills of credit, to be sunk in nine years by a tax, beginning with twelve thousand pounds for the present year. Several other acts of a praiseworthy character were passed; and after a most satisfactory and harmonious session, the house adjourned, on the seventh of March, in order that the members might hasten to their different counties to urge forward the enlistments.¹

Although the fall of Fort Du Quesne placed the result of the war beyond doubt, yet Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point, were still in possession of the French, and until those posts had been relinquished by the latter, there could be no security for the frontiers. The experience, moreover, of past years, showed conclusively that until Canada had been brought under the dominion of the British Crown, no peace could ever be established on a permanent basis between the two great powers. It was therefore determined by the minister, that while the early summer should witness the reduction of Niagara and the forts upon Lake Champlain, General Wolfe, by a bold push, should make himself master of Quebec. The military operations of this year were entrusted to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, who, late in the fall of 1758, had been appointed commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in America, in place of Abercrombie who had been recalled. The qualities which Amherst possessed peculiarly fitted him for the command in America. To sound judgment, he united determined energy; and while the operations of his mind were slow, they were reliable. Methodical, and perhaps at times, plodding, yet when necessity arose for decisive action, he was not found wanting.² Upon hearing of the disgraceful repulse of Abercrombie while at Louisburg the

¹ Smith. Journals of the assembly.

² In the copy of *Knox's Journal*, there is in the first volume, an engraving giving a three-quarters view of General Amherst's face—the face of a bold, prompt and determined man. The head, squarely-built, and covered with

preceding summer, he had without orders, immediately sailed for Boston, and with four regiments had marched thence to the head of Lake George to reinforce that general. Amherst was not brilliant, but the colonists had become tired of brilliant men who were continually devising fine plans, which they never accomplished; and although he had been among them but a short time, yet so great was their confidence in him, that the assembly, at his request, and upon his promise that it should be repaid in the course of a year, loaned the crown, in July, one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, in addition to the sums already voted, for the further expenses of the campaign. The New England colonies were also prompt in their measures; so that when Amherst removed his head quarters from New York to Albany near the end of May, he found at that city, twelve thousand Provincials, chiefly from New York and New England, ready and willing to take the field.

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Meanwhile, Sir William Johnson was using all his influence to secure for the summer's campaign a full complement of Indian braves. On the eighteenth of January, he held a conference at Canajoharie castle with the Mohawk and Seneca chiefs, and after condoling with them for their losses by sickness with three strings of wampum, and for their losses by the war with a like number of strings, he addressed them as follows:

“Brethren of the two Mohawk castles and Senecas: I take the first opportunity of acquainting you, that his majesty has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant General Amherst commander-in-chief of all his forces in North America, in the room of Lieutenant General Abercrombie, who is

short, crisp hair—hair which could not very easily have been powdered into submission—is firmly set on a rather large neck. The eyes, keen, and on the alert, look straight ahead. The nose is Grecian, prominent and almost on a line with the broad, slightly retreating, not very high forehead. The mouth is firm, but pleasant; the lower jaw rather heavy, the chin being well marked—what would now-a-days be called a “fighting chin.” It is altogether the face of a man, kind in civil life, but in action, watchful, stern, persevering and brave.

CHAP. called home: also that the general has, by letter, desired
 V. I would use my utmost endeavors to get as great a number
 1758. of our brethren, the Six Nations, to join him early next
 spring against our common enemy, as I possibly can.
 This I shall endeavor to do, and would be glad of your
 advice and assistance therein, which by this belt of wampum
 I desire you, as our steady friends, will afford me.

A Belt.

“*Brethren:* As you are all acquainted with the late
 cruel and unprecedented murder of John M'Michael,¹ one
 of our people, by a Cayouga² Indian near Fort Stanwix,
 whom he employed to escort him to Fort Herkimer. I shall
 not repeat the disagreeable circumstances to you, as I am
 sensible it affects you as well as me. I would now only
 ask your opinion what are the proper steps to be taken in
 the affair, as it will always have great weight with me.

Three Strings.

“*Brethren:* I lately received these strings of wampum
 from the Oneidas by Captain Fonda, by which they say I
 am invited to a meeting proposed to be held soon at Onon-
 daga, where you are also desired to attend. I am ready
 and willing to go if you think it will be for the good of
 the service. At the same time I must observe to you, that
 I think it an unprecedented manner of inviting either you
 or me, without some of the Onondagas coming down with
 it as usual. I nevertheless submit it to your judgment,
 as being better acquainted with their forms, and expect
 you will give it me, as well as your opinion of the proper
 steps for me to take, in order to get those of our prisoners
 who may be among the nations.”

Three Strings.

“*January 19.* The sachems, being met at their council
 room, sent to acquaint Sir William that they were ready
 to answer what he, the day before, had laid before them.

¹ Mr. Mc Michael's family are yet among the most respectable residents
 of Schenectady. One of his great grandchildren is now, 1864, the proprie-
 tor of the American Hotel at Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

² Always spelled thus by Sir Wm. Johnson.

On which he, with the same gentlemen who attended him CHAP.
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yesterday, went to the meeting, when Aroshyadecka *alias* }
old Brant, chief of the Canajoharies, spoke as follows: 1758.

“*Brother Waraghiyaghey* : We are much obliged to you for giving us so timely notice of the general’s desire and intentions, and we hope and wish that he may be ready to take the field very early, which in my opinion is what should always be done. You may depend upon our attachment and assistance; being determined, as we declared to you at the beginning of this war, to stand or fall with you. And as you desired our opinion with regard to the Six Nations, we have considered of it, and think it best that you call their sachems, chief warriors and leading women, down to your house as soon as may be, where we shall be ready to attend and assist you all in our power.

Returned the Belt.

“*Brethren* : The late murder of one of our brethren, near the carrying place, by one of the upper nations in the French interest, gives us great concern, and we think he ought to be severely punished for it. But as we hope the Six Nations may now act a better part than they have hitherto, we would advise you not to say anything about it until they come to the meeting at your house, and there we think the milder you speak to them the better, at this time. And this is our opinion.

Returned three Strings.

“*Brother* : As for the strings of wampum lately sent by the Oneidas to invite you and us to a meeting at Onondaga, we think with you that it was not according to our ancient and usual custom, nor was it even a proper invitation. We are of opinion that your inviting them all down here is much better and more in character. Wherefore, we would be very glad if you would give them an invitation, and at the same time to send some strings of wampum, desiring they would bring what prisoners of our brethren may be among them.

Three Strings of Wampum.

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1758.

“*Brother* : We return you our hearty thanks for the confidence you repose in us, and be assured we shall ever study to act so as to continue your good opinion of us. We are also thankful for the good news you yesterday told us, and we heartily congratulate you thereon, and hope farther success may attend the king’s arms.”

The course, suggested by the chiefs, was adopted by Sir William; and messengers, with the usual significant belts, were forthwith dispatched to the Cayugas and Onondagas. It was attended by the best results, as appears from subsequent entries in the Diary, Mr. M’Michael who had been murdered by the recreant Cayuga, was a trader of note, and the peculiar atrocity of his murder had created a deep feeling of indignation, for which, the circumstances and duplicity, stated in the official report from the commanding officer at Fort Stanwix to Sir William, were a full warrant. The Cayugas lost no time in manifesting their sorrow and detestation of the crime, as will be seen from the following extract from the Baronet’s journal :

“*Fort Johnson, Feb 5th.* Skanarady, Teughsaragarat, and Ottanannio, three chiefs of the Cayuga nation, arrived here with several more, and after being introduced by Clement, the interpreter, began and said :

“*Brother Waraghiyaghey* : The unhappy murder of one of our brethren near the Oneida carrying place, is the occasion of our coming down at this severe season of the year. Our nation would not be at rest, nor easy, until they had spoke to you about it. We now, in their behalf, wipe away the tears from your eyes, so that yon may look pleasant at us. We likewise remove all obstructions, and clear your throat, so that you may speak clear and friendly to us. Lastly, we wipe away the blood of our brother, lately killed near the carrying place, that the sight of it may no longer give us concern. *Three Strings.*

“Sir William told them that he would be ready the next morning to hear what they had farther to say, and would desire his neighbors, the Mohawks, to attend.

“ *Wednesday, Feb. 6th.* About twenty Mohawks arrived. CHAP.
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The Cayugas being acquainted that Sir William was ready, }
with the Mohawks and two Onondagas to hear them, they 1759.
entered the council, and Skanarady spoke as follows :

“ *Brother Warraghiyaghey:* On our arrival yesterday we wiped the tears from your eyes, and we now, agreeable to the custom of our forefathers, take the French hatchet, (which they gave to one of our foolish, deluded young men, giving him great rewards, and making him large promises if he would use it against our brethren, the English,) out of your head, and bury it in a deep pool, where it can never be found ; also with this belt of wampum we assure you that it gives our nation as much concern as it gives you, and promise the greatest care shall be taken to prevent the like happening for the future.

A Black and White Belt.

“ *Brother :* With this belt we cover his grave, that the sight of it may no longer give you or us concern.

A White Belt.

“ *Brother :* With these strings we raise up your head, now hanging down with concern for the loss of one of our brethren, and beg you will no longer keep sorrow in your mind.

Three Strings of Wampum.

“ *Brother :* Lastly, we most earnestly entreat that you will not for what has happened, neglect the management of our affairs, as your neglect of them at any, but more particularly at this time, must render us unhappy, and throw the Confederacy into confusion.”

A Belt of Black and White.

On the eleventh of February, Sir William proceeded to Canajoharie, at which place he had invited a meeting of the chiefs and warriors of the Mohawks. The occasion and the proceedings will be understood from the annexed extract :

“ *Monday, Feb. 12—8 at night.*

Being all assembled, Sir William told them that the

CHAP. V. reason of his coming to their castle was to get a number
 1759. of their briskest men to join Captain Lottridge, and some
 of the Mohawks and Schoharies, on a scout to Tienderago
 or Crown Point, in order to see what the enemy were
 about, and get him a prisoner from whom he might be
 able to get better intelligence than the general daily receives,
 and which would enable the general to take proper
 measures for the defence of the country until the opening
 of the campaign,—and that they would be ready in two
 days to set off for his house, where they would be supplied
 with everything necessary for such service.”

A painted War-Belt thrown between them.

No sooner was the belt cast among them, than Douglass, a chief of the Bear tribe, arose, took the belt in his hand, and sang his war song, and was followed by several more of each tribe. Then Aroghigadecka, the chief sachem of the castle, stood up and said :

“*Brother Warraghiyaghey* : We the sachems and warriors of the Canajoharie castle immediately quit our hunting on your call, and made all the haste possible to meet you here, where we are all heartily glad to see you : and in answer to your desire, without any hesitation, I am desired by the young men present to tell you that they will be ready to go with Captain Lottridge and the Mohawks, on the service you require, and we have no reason to doubt you will, in their absence, take care of their families, who are extremely poor and in great want of provisions.”¹

Here returned the War Belt.

“Sir William thanked them for the readiness they showed on the occasion, and told them he would give their families some provisions in their absence, or money to purchase it, so that they should not suffer. He then gave them an entertainment, as usual on such occasions, and parted. He left that castle Tuesday morning, and arrived at Fort Johnson that night.”

The successes of the campaign of 1758 had produced, as the Baronet had foreseen, a wonderful change in their

temper; and this fact added to their sources of discontent against the French, as narrated in the last chapter, caused all the Six cantons to respond with alacrity to Sir William's invitation to meet him at Canajoharie in April, preparatory to their going with him upon the war path. Their minds were the more open to the persuasions of the superintendent, from the fact that at the late treaty at Easton, the Proprietaries had relinquished all claim to those lands on the Ohio, the sale of which at Albany in 1754, had produced among them so much discontent. The surrender of these lands, which had been effected solely by his influence and representations, gave him a still stronger hold upon their affections, of which at the council in April he did not fail to avail himself. "I hope," said he to their speaker, "that this surrender will convince you and all other Indians how ready your brethren the English are to remove from your hearts all jealousies and uneasiness of their desiring to encroach upon your hunting lands, and be a convincing proof to you how false the accusations of the French are that we are at war with them, in order to get your country from you; for you see while the French keep their forts in the midst of your country and fight us in order to secure the possession of them, we give up these lands which you had sold us; Brethren," continued he, "I now deliver up this said instrument of release and surrender to you." Sir William then informed them of the recall of Abercrombie, and the desire of his successor for as many Indian allies as would willingly join in assisting his majesty's arms, and added: "and now all that remains for me to do at present is to offer you General Amherst's hatchet, which I now do, and make no doubt you will cheerfully accept and make a proper use of it, as that will procure you a share in all the honors of this campaign, and in all the advantages which we have abundant reason with the blessing of God to expect from the issue of it."

The result was, that Sir William joined General Prideaux

CHAP at Oswego, with seven hundred braves.¹ Many of the
 1759. Swegatchie Iroquois also, perceiving with native sagacity
 that the star of France in the western hemisphere was on
 the wane, hastened to make their peace with the English,
 by joining their kindred in the Baronet's little army; so
 that upon the latter's arrival at Niagara, he had a force of
 nine hundred and forty-three Indian warriors.²

The importance of securing Niagara for both a trading
 and a military post, had been, early in this year, urged upon
 the lords of trade and General Amherst by Sir William
 Johnson, with whom the latter was now on terms of warm
 friendship. Commanding the portage between Lake
 Ontario and Lake Erie, it was enabled to secure a monopoly
 of the fur trade with the western Indians; and on this
 account it had been an eye sore to the English for many
 years.

On the first of July, General Prideaux, leaving Colonel
 Haldimand with a battalion of Provincials to keep watch
 at Oswego, sailed for Fort Niagara with twenty-two hun-
 dred regulars and Provincials, exclusive of his dusky allies
 under the Baronet, and upon the seventh invested that
 fortress.³ Hardly had Prideaux sailed, when a detachment
 of fifteen hundred regulars, Canadians and Indians under
 Lacorne, hastened from La Galette⁴ with the intention
 of surprising and cutting off the forces left with Haldimand.
 They were, however, foiled in their design, for the colonel,
 having thrown up a breastwork, defended himself so va-
 liantly, that the enemy after a severe action of three hours,
 retreated into the woods. The next day, which was the
 sixth, the French renewed the attack, but were repulsed

¹ Manuscript letter: Johnson to Sir William Baker, 28th Sep., 1759.

² Manuscript letter: Johnson to Secretary Pitt, 24th Oct., 1760.

³ Called also by the French Isle Royal—now Chimney Island.

⁴ "Manuscript orderly book of the 2d New York regiment of Provincials, during the march of the army and siege of Fort Niagara in 1759, under Generals Prideaux and Sir Wm. Johnson." Preserved by John McKenzie of the 44th Royal Scots, late of Albany, N. Y.

and driven to their boats, with a loss of six killed and several wounded.

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1759.

On the nineteenth of July, General Prideaux having been killed by the bursting of a shell carelessly discharged from a cohorn by one of his own gunners, the Baronet succeeded to the command. The latter had carefully studied the plans of the late general, and now executed them with precision and skill. The siege was therefore pressed with even more energy than by Prideaux, and approaches were made and new batteries opened each day nearer the fort. On the twenty-second, under the well directed fire of the artillery, a large breach was made in the walls and the battery and parapet of the flag bastion completely demolished. Meanwhile the cannonading on both sides was continued without cessation, though with more vigor on the part of the besiegers. Showers of hot shot and shell rained upon the fort day and night, while the continued pouring of grape and musketry into the breach is described by one of the garrison as terrific. In the meantime, D'Aubry, trembling for the fate of this important post, gathered from the forts at Detroit, Venango, La Boeuf and Presque Isle, an army of twelve hundred men, and with these and a large force of Indian auxiliaries, hastened to raise the siege. Sir William, however, apprised of his approach by Indian scouts, was on the alert, and on the twenty-fourth of July, leaving a large force in the trenches to prevent the garrison from coöperating with D'Aubrey, marched out with his army to meet the enemy. His light infantry, supported by the grenadiers, were detailed to occupy the road from the falls to the fort, along which the French were advancing, while his Indians were judiciously posted on his flanks. On the first appearance of the enemy, the Mohawks proposed a talk with the French Indians, hoping to induce them to either take part with them or remain neutral. No attention being paid to their solicitations, the Indians on each side simultaneously raised the war whoop, and both armies joined in fierce

CHAP. V. combat. While the British regulars charged the enemy in
 1759. front with the bayonet, the Confederates delivered a gall-
 ing fire upon their flanks, which threw them into confusion. No sooner was this perceived by the English, than they charged with such irresistible fury, that the French gave way and fled in wild confusion, many of them falling at every step, cut down by the pursuing foe. In this action one hundred and fifty of the French were killed, and ninety-six privates and seventeen officers taken prisoners, among whom were D'Aubrey himself, and the famous French partizan Marin.

On the evening of the same day, Sir William sent Major Harvey to the commander of the fort, with an account of D'Aubrey's defeat, advising him at the same time to surrender "lest by forcing him to extremities, he should not have it in his power to restrain his Indians, who would by an obstinate, fruitless resistance, become too much enraged to be withheld."¹ Captain Pouchet yielded to this advice; and at seven o'clock the next morning, the garrison, consisting of six hundred and seven men and eleven officers, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The male prisoners were escorted by a detachment of three hundred of the forty-fourth regiment to Oswego, whence they were sent to England by way of New York; while the women and children were at their own request allowed to go to Montreal."²

Thus had the Baronet a second time during this war, won laurels upon the field of Mars. Without any military training, he had achieved his successes solely by native courage and sagacity.³ Both moreover, were victories in

¹ "Sir William Johnson merits the highest applause from his king and country; and his inclination to put a stop to the farther effusion of human blood was truly laudable."—*Knox's Journal*.

² Sir William Johnson's private manuscript diary kept during the siege of Niagara. *Knox's Historical Journal*. *M. Pouchet's Journal*. *Orderly Book of the 2d Regiment*. *Smollett*.

³ "The war in general was distinguished by the singular success of Sir William Johnson, and the celebrated Lord Clive, two self-taught generals,

which the escutcheon of his fame remains untarnished by any cruelties on the part of his savage allies. The latter, although feeling keenly the loss of several of their braves, neither by word, nor look, nor deed, offered the least insult to the captured garrison; nor was any of their private property taken; and only such plunder carried off by the Indians, as was allowed to them by the Baronet as legitimate spoils. When it is remembered that Sir William had with him nearly one thousand Indians, many of whom having been until lately hostile, were consequently not so much under his influence, this fact furnishes perhaps the strongest proof of his wonderful hold upon the respect and affections of the red men. For a long time after this victory, the Baronet's name was the toast in New York and in England. His praise was upon all lips. "This will gain him fresh laurels," wrote Charles Clinton to his son," and will place him high in the esteem of his sovereign and of every true subject."¹

By the fall of Niagara, was broken the last remaining link in that chain of fortresses which had served to unite Canada with Louisiana, and a fatal blow given to that cherished project, for the attainment of which, France had labored for many years. All communication with Canada being thus cut off, and nearly all their officers having been taken prisoners in the action of the twenty-fourth, the forts at Venango, Presque Isle and La Boeuf were immediately blown up and deserted—their garrisons retiring to Detroit, so that General Stanwix, who had been placed over the western department, took possession of them without opposition.

The Baronet tarried several days at Niagara after the siege, repairing the works, and ministering to those prison-

who, by a series of shining actions, have demonstrated that uninstructed genius can, by its own internal light and efficacy, rival if not eclipse, the acquired advantages of discipline and experience."—*Smollett*.

¹ "The gentlemen in New York talk of presenting you with a medal in gold worth £500."—*Manuscript letter: Corey to Johnson, 23d Aug., 1759.*

CHAP. V. ers who had been obliged through sickness to remain. At
 length having performed the obsequies of the unfortunate
 1759. Prideaux,¹ he left Colonel Farquahar in charge of Niagara
 with seven hundred men, and embarked for Oswego the
 fifth of August, arriving there on the afternoon of the
 seventh.²

Brigadier General Gage, who had been detached by Amherst to take the place of Prideaux, arrived on the sixteenth of August at Oswego. The Baronet was in favor of pushing on immediately and demolishing the forts at La Galette and Oswegatchie, but the general would not permit the movement. The vacillating conduct of Gage in this matter, as well as the sentiments of the Baronet upon the subject, and the manner also in which the latter was engaged during the season, will best appear to the reader from the following from Sir William's private diary, kept by him at this time;³

"*Oswego, Thursday, 16 Aug. 1759.* Brigadier General Gage arrived here in the afternoon with 300 drafts for the three regiments here. I gave up the command to him, and General Amherst's instructions to the late Brigadier Prideaux, also his last letter to him, which I received on my way from Niagara. He then showed me a letter or two he received from General Amherst with orders to proceed to this place, and take the command; also to proceed to Niagara if not yet taken. If taken and the troops returned, then to proceed to La Galette and take post there, which, in case General Wolfe should be defeated, would make a frontier, with Niagara, Oswego, and Crown Point. He told me that on reading General Amherst's

¹ "28, Aug. Buried Brig. Gen. Prideaux in the chapel and Colonel Johnson, with a great deal of form. I was chief mourner."—*Sir William Johnson's private diary.*

² For the orders given to Colonel Farquahar for his guidance while in charge of Niagara by Johnson, see appendix No. II.

³ The reader is referred to appendix No. III of this vol. for this curious and important diary which has never before seen the light, and which is there published in full.

letter, he gave him as his opinion that he thought it impracticable to establish there a post in so short a time, and furnish it with provisions.”

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“*Friday* 17. Fine weather. General Gage agreed to the plan of the fort proposed by Engineer Lowers, viz: a pentagon. Accordingly they set about it, and marked out the ground. This day I made up an affair between Colonel Massey and Captain Forbes, which otherwise was to be tried by a general court martial. The drafts were this day divided among the regiments here.”

“*Saturday* 18. A fine morning. Colonel Haldimand came to my tent and on our talking over several matters, among other things I asked him whether the general had said anything to him about advancing to Swegatchie. He answered that the general had showed him all his instructions, but said nothing about going to La Galette; on which I gave him my opinion, that our going to La Galette and destroying it was practicable and might favor General Amherst’s designs, but to remain there was impossible on account of provisions, and being too late to make such a respectable work there, as the French would not be able to take. He expressed himself entirely against attempting it, for the above reasons, and farther that the enemy might carry on an expedition against it in the winter; adding also that if one of our convoys should be cut off, it would ruin the whole and oblige us to abandon even this post &c. General Gage expressed himself the same way and added farther that his honor was as dear to him, as General Amherst’s would be to him, and did not understand running his head against a wall or attempting impossibilities, with a great deal more to that purpose, and what I thought not unreasonable, after telling me the state of every thing, particularly the artillery, ammunition and provision. I told General Gage that I thought our going and destroying La Galette practicable, but not to take post there, for the several reasons given to Lieutenant Colonel Haldimand the same day. The general then

CHAP. V. 1759. said he would get a few boats built, to carry each a pair of large cannon in the bow, to guard against the French vessels, and would then make a trial. I asked him if he would have me send for the several nations of Indians to come immediately and join us, to which he made no answer."

"*Sunday 19.* Lieutenant Francis with his party returned with several whale boats from Irondequat. Also came in this day some Onondagoes who told me they were sent to let me know that several sachems and others were coming to Oswego to meet me, also two sachems of the Messissagaes, and would be here in four or five days; that they had a great many furs and skins to trade, and hoped there would be plenty of goods for that purpose. I represented to General Gage the necessity of having traders come up here and to Niagara for that end. He told me to act in that as I thought best for the service, and to give papers to such as I thought deserved them."

"*Monday 20.* I gave General Gage a rough draft of the river St. Lawrence below La Galette, drawn by Red Head. Dined with General Gage, after which we took a walk and talked together about going down to La Galette, to which he agreed, as soon as artillery, vessels, &c., could be got ready."

"*Tuesday September 11th.* The general desired me to stop the Cayugas and others from coming here, as he finds it impracticable to move from here on an expedition, but to keep a few Indians to scout about here to prevent scalping. He told me that he entirely gave up all thoughts of proceeding to La Galette, but desired I would keep it very private."

General Gage, however, was still undetermined as appears by the following extract.

"*Saturday 15th.* About 11 o'clock the general called me, Colonels Haldimand, Massey and Graham to his tent, and asked our opinions what number of men we thought sufficient to carry on the fort so as to leave it this campaign on

barbette, which he said was as far as the engineers expected to get it, and what number of men for the guards of the camp, woods, &c., and also what number of men we thought necessary for incidental duty or fatigue. We were of opinion that 1100 men would be sufficient to work at the fort, 200 for guard in our absence, 100 for incidental duty, and an addition of 42 men to Captain Schuyler's company of bateaux men. Then the general cast the whole up, and it appeared there were about 1000 rank and file to go on the expedition, besides Indians, the number of whom was unknown, as they were constantly coming in and the Cayugas all expected the next day.

I told the general that our going and destroying La Galette would be the means of drawing all the Swegatchie Indians away from the French, and if we did not attempt it might be the means of rivetting them more firmly in it; besides that our destroying La Galette might make us masters of the French vessels, which then would be cut off from any relief—all he said was that it all depended on General Wolfe. After various opinions we ended our meeting *in nothing*, no resolution having been taken. A little later the general told me I had better stop the Cayugas then on their way, and send those here home, by telling them the season was too far advanced, and could not complete this post if we went on any expedition."

"*Sunday 16th.* The general called me, Colonels Massey and Graham, to his tent to hear what intelligence De Quegue learned from the French prisoners, by which the general would have it that the enemy was very strongly entrenched there, [La Galette] with numbers superior to ours. After all he desired the opinion of the gentlemen present, not as a council of war, but to enlighten him, as he owned he was at a loss what steps to take. The first who spoke his opinion was Colonel Massey, who thought it would be imprudent to go with anything but a flying light body of troops, about five hundred, in order to destroy La Galette. I gave the general my opinion as thus—that I

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1759. was of opinion a body of six hundred men might carry La Galette, and the Indians from thence, which would be a thing of great consequence,—that if the enemy were weak at Isle Gallot they might probably, on our destroying La Galette abandon it, if they did not learn our small number, which should be carefully concealed; that the vessels might also fall by our proceeding to La Galette. If we found the enemy too powerful, I thought we could retreat with care and good conduct; that if we did not attempt anything that way, it might probably fix the Swegatchie Indians firmly in the French interest, and be the means of establishing a stronger post there than ever. The other two gentlemen were very reserved, Haldimand in particular. We broke up without any resolution.

The general followed me and desired I would turn the thing in my mind seriously and let him know my thoughts farther about it. I, on this, spoke with Colonel Massey upon the subject, who said he would gladly go in case I went. I told him I was resolved to go if allowed, and would go directly and throw myself in the general's way, expecting he will ask me my opinion. I did so several times even to his tent door, but he avoided talking with me on the subject."

"*Monday 17.* I intend this day to ask the general for 600 men to go to La Galette, as the Indians here and there both are desirous of it. If he will not agree to it I shall then desire liberty to go home."

"*Wednesday.* The Onondagoes came to know what resolution the general had come to, on examining the prisoners brought in by the Indians, agreeably to his promise made them several days ago. I told them I would acquaint them this day with the general's resolution, concerning which they wanted to know. I spoke with the general about it, who desired I would acquaint them the season of the year was so far advanced, and so much work to be done here to finish the fort, that he did not intend

to proceed farther this campaign, and that they might return to their respective habitations and country.”

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“ *Wednesday Oct. 3.* The general read part of General Amherst’s letter to him from Crown Point, wherein he expresses his concern at Mr. Gage’s not taking post at La Galette, which is so advantageous a pass, and nothing to hinder it, as all their force is employed below. He then says that he expects, as he is determined not to take part at La Galette, that he will complete Fort Stanwix and this post, as well as open a communication between this and the Mohawk river; that he had written to the several governments to continue their troops the month of November, which he does not doubt they will come into, and a great deal more concerning the garrisons, provisions and artillery. Six hundred men to be left here. He [Gage] seemed greatly concerned on the whole, and was much surprised at the general’s manner of writing. In the evening, he desired I would take up my quarters in one of the barracks, and then walked away.”¹

Thus did General Gage, against the urgent advice of Amherst and the Baronet, waste away his hours in idleness; deferring until the next season what might easily have been accomplished in this. Perceiving at length that it was no part of his general’s plan to push the campaign farther this year, and having concluded a peace with the Ottawas and Mississageys, Sir William resolved to return to Mount Johnson, from which he had now been absent more than three months. Accordingly he set out on his return on the fourteenth of October, as is seen by the following extract from the private diary just quoted:

“ *October 13, Saturday morning.* I began to pack up my little things, and prepare to set off to-morrow, if God

¹ I have dwelt at length upon this topic, because Sir William Johnson has been so frequently accused by his enemies of being deficient *in energy*. His course at this time, contrasted with that of Gage, is manifest; and these extracts quoted from his private diary, and written for no eye but his own, and therefore not written for effect, will have full weight with the candid reader.

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1759. } pleases. As there is nothing to do here, I waited on the
general for leave to go home, which he readily complied
with."

"*Sunday* 14. Windy dry weather—the wind at N. E. I was up early, and ordered all hands to strike our tents and load the bateaux."

Meanwhile, General Amherst with over eleven thousand men appeared before Ticonderoga on the twenty-second day of July. The policy of the French, who now saw that all resistance was hopeless, was to make a feint of resisting, and, falling back from post to post, finally concentrate all their strength at Isle Aux Noir. Accordingly the garrison at Ticonderoga, four days after they were invested, blew up their works and withdrew to Crown Point. Amherst with his habitual caution, tarried several days to repair the walls, and on the fourth of August embarked on the lake and took possession of Crown Point, which the enemy had also abandoned at his approach. It was the intention of Amherst, on the reduction of Crown Point, to coöperate with General Wolfe by advancing upon Montreal. But the French were now strongly entrenched at the foot of the lake, and were moreover possessed of four large vessels heavily armed. Before therefore the enemy could be engaged with advantage, a naval force must be created. This required time; and it was not until the middle of October that the vessels were ready. Hardly, however, had the English commander embarked with his entire army, when a succession of tempests and head winds arose completely foiling his design. Captain Loring, however, to whom had been given the charge of the fleet, rode out the storm, and proceeding down the lake destroyed two of the enemy's vessels.

General Amherst, although prevented by the elements from active operations during the remainder of the year, could not remain idle. Previous to his going into winter quarters, he cut a road through to New England,

rebuilt the fort at Ticonderoga, and began the erection of an elaborate fortification at Crown Point; while under his direction, near the ruins of Fort William Henry, arose another fort, to which was given the name of Fort George. CHAP.
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While Amherst was thus fortifying the northern frontier, Major Rogers with one hundred and forty-two men set out, on the thirteenth of September, from Crown Point to destroy the Indian settlement of St. Francis. This village was situated about three miles from the river St. Lawrence, midway between Montreal and Quebec; and for many years had been the hive, whence had issued those swarms of scalping parties, whose devastations upon the New England border had been so frequent and terrible. After a wearisome march of twenty-one days, Rogers halted his men within three miles of the village to reconnoiter. Having entered the town in disguise and made his observations, the bold ranger returned to his men and disclosed his plans. The Indians were then holding a high festival; and it was arranged that when sleep had closed their eyelids, the attack should be made. Impatiently the rangers wait for the distant sounds of revelry to cease; and when, three hours after midnight, the village even to the watch-dogs is wrapped in slumber, with stealthy steps they approach. Halting within five hundred yards of the town, they lay aside their packs, unloosen their knives in their sheaths, and prepare for the attack. The Indians, astounded at the time and the suddenness of the onset, offer no resistance; and the sight of six hundred English scalps dangling from their tent-poles, is not calculated to assuage the fury of the assailants. Before seven that morning, the deed is finished; and amid the smouldering ashes of the town, lay the scalped and blackened corpses of two hundred warriors.¹ Terribly had the suffering borderer been avenged! By the orders of Amherst,

¹ *Rogers's Journal*. It is worthy of notice, as illustrative of the fact that the Indians are fast losing their traditions, that the St. Francis tribe retain no remembrance or account whatever of this expedition of Rogers.

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V. escape. Hastily collecting from the spoils two hundred
1759. guineas in money, and a silver image weighing ten pounds,
the rangers began their retreat up the St. Francis river,
with the intention of making their way to Fort Dummond.
The retreat, however, was unfortunate. They were pur-
sued and lost seven of their number. Finally they be-
came separated; and although the majority of the party
regained the settlements, yet several lost their way, and
after wandering in the wilderness for several days, perished
with hunger.

For the capture of Quebec, General Wolfe had eight thousand regulars, besides twenty-two ships of the line, and an equal number of frigates and lightly armed vessels. With this force he appeared off the Isle of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec, on the twenty-sixth of June, and upon the following day landed his army in safety. It was at this point, when he saw the castle of St. Louis frowning upon him from its rocky seat, that he realized for the first time the vastness of the task before him. For the protection of the city, Montcalm had stationed several armed vessels and floating batteries at the mouth of the St. Charles river, which half encircling the rocky promontory upon which the city is built, empties at its base into the St. Lawrence. On the eastern bank of the St. Charles, the French army were strongly entrenched—their encampment extending along the north bank of the St. Lawrence nine miles to the Montmorency. Above Quebec the elevated plateau, into which the promontory expands, was strongly fortified on the river side to Cape Rouge, a distance of nine miles. These were the obstacles which Wolfe must overcome—a place, too, strongly fortified by nature, and commanded by one of the ablest generals of the age. The difficulties of the undertaking, however, only made Wolfe more determined to succeed; and confident in being soon reinforced by Amherst he began the

siege with vigor. On the thirtieth, the English general took up a position at Point Levi, opposite the city, and having erected his batteries, opened the same day a brisk fire upon the town. Although the red hot shot from his cannon soon set the lower town in a blaze, yet it was evident that the citadel, from its high elevation being beyond the range of the artillery, remained wholly uninjured; nor could it be taken, unless from batteries erected on the north side of the St. Lawrence. Such being the case, Wolfe determined to attack Montcalm in his entrenched camp, and as a preparatory step to this design, crossed with the larger portion of the army and encamped on the eastern bank of the Montmorency. The rapid and roaring river now alone separated the two armies. The thirty-first of July was the day fixed upon for the assault. Generals Murray and Townsend were directed to ford the river three miles above the falls, and coöperate with General Monckton, who, at a given signal, was to cross with his regiments from Point Levi, and land at the foot of the cataract above the Montmorency. The impetuosity of Monckton's troops defeated the entire plan. Thirteen companies of the Grenadiers and two hundred of the Royal Americans, having rushed up the steep bank without waiting to be properly supported, were repulsed with fearful loss, and driven for shelter to a redoubt of the enemy, which had been evacuated by the latter at the beginning of the attack. At this moment a heavy thunder storm burst upon the combatants; and darkness falling before the fury of the elements had abated, Wolfe ordered the river to be recrossed, but not until over four hundred of his brave, but rash men, had fallen.

August came, and the capture of Quebec appeared as far off as ever. Several attempts under General Murray to destroy the French shipping had been unsuccessful, and affairs now wore a gloomy hue. Weary and dejected, Wolfe looked daily for the arrival of Amherst, by whom, as he had ascertained from some prisoners, Crown Point

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1759. was already taken. His hopes from that quarter were vain. The messengers, whom Amherst had sent to inform him of his inability to assist, came not, and thus weeks passed in gloomy uncertainty. Added to this, the anxieties and perplexities of his situation, working upon the frame of Wolfe, already undermined by a severe and painful disease, brought on a violent fever.¹ His mind, nevertheless triumphed over the infirmities of the flesh. Calling a council of war around him, as he lay in the little chamber of a Canadian cottage, he unfolded to Monckton, Townsend, and Murray three plans of attack. The council rejected them all as desperate in the extreme, and proposed instead, that four or five thousand men should scale the heights back of Quebec, and thus draw the French into an engagement. With a view also of misleading the enemy, Admiral Holmes was to ascend the river in the ships. This ruse was completely successful; and while Wolfe was quietly embarking his troops above Point Levi in transports preparatory to the assault, Montcalm, supposing that the English were on the point of raising the siege, sent off De Levi with three thousand men for the protection of Montreal.

The evening of the twelfth of September was clear and calm. Two hours before daylight, thirty flat-boats, containing sixteen hundred soldiers, left the vessels and dropped slowly down with the current, followed at a short distance by the vessels with the rest of the troops. As if the elements had combined to favor the English, heavy black clouds now drifted over the sky, obscuring the starlight and making the night intensely dark. With muffled oars the boats silently neared the shore, the stillness being unbroken, save when Wolfe, seated in the bow of the

¹ "I have this day signified to Mr. Pitt that he may dispose of my slight carcass as he pleases, and that I am ready for any undertaking within the reach and compass of my skill and cunning. I am in a very bad condition, both with the gravel and rheumatism; but I had much rather die than decline any kind of service that offers:" *Wolfe to William Rickson, December 1, 1758.*

boat with arms folded, repeated in scarcely audible tones that mournfully beautiful stanza from Gray's *Elegy* :

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“The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour ;
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.”

“Gentlemen,” he added when he had finished, “I would rather have written those lines than take Quebec to-morrow.”

In the gray dawn of the autumn morning, the troops landed in a small cove. Wolfe led the way up the steep ascent followed by the main division, and by colonel Howe (brother of the one who had fallen at Ticonderoga) with the light infantry and a body of Scotch Highlanders. The rest of the army quickly followed; and when the light mists of morning had floated away, five thousand British regulars were seen drawn up in order of battle upon the plains of Abraham. When the startling intelligence of the event was borne by swift messengers to Montcalm, he could scarcely credit his senses. “Surely,” said he, “it can be but a small party, come to burn a few houses and retire.” He was soon undeceived; and before ten o'clock, both armies stood confronting each other upon the plain.

The French army advanced in three divisions to the attack, preceded by fifteen hundred Canadian and Indian sharp shooters, who, secreted behind shrubs, opened an irregular fire. When they had advanced within forty yards of the English, the latter at the word from Wolfe, opened such a terrible fire, as to throw the enemy at once into disorder. Seeing them falter, the British grenadiers, burning to retrieve their disgrace at the Montmorency, charged with such uncontrollable fury, that the French in a confused mob broke in all directions, pursued by the fleet Highlanders who, with every flash of their broad swords, cut down numbers of the fugitives, even at the very gates of the city.

In the bayonet charge, Wolfe received a slight wound in

CHAP. the wrist. Binding a handkerchief around the wounded
 V. } part, he continued to cheer on his men. A moment after
 1759. a bullet pierced his groin. Nothing daunted, he yet fought on until a third ball in the breast stretched him upon the ground. He was tenderly carried to the rear by five of his men, and asked if he would have a surgeon, to which he replied in the negative. At this moment one of the officers, who was supporting the dying general, exclaimed, "See how they run." "Who run?" demanded Wolfe with energy. "The enemy," sir, replied the officer, "they give way everywhere." "Then," continued the dying man, "tell Colonel Burton to march Webb's regiment down to Charles river, to cut off their retreat from the bridge. Now, God be praised, I will die in peace." Then turning upon his side, his spirit peacefully took its departure.¹

¹In the second volume of *Knox's Journal* there is an engraving which presents a profile view of General Wolfe. In Warburton's *Conquest of Canada* there is an excellent engraving, "from a scarce cotemporary print." In the background are flat boats crowded with troops, and detached squads of soldiers clambering up the heights; while in the foreground stands General Wolfe armed cap a pie, his right hand pointing to the summit to be gained. But this full length portrait gives the general's face only in slight profile, and is not so provocative of study as the generous profile in *Knox's Journal*. In the latter engraving, the general's hair, which is represented as long and not very abundant, appears gathered behind and neatly tied with a riband. The head is thrown back a little, and the oval-shaped face, with full cheeks and chin (almost a double chin,) beautifully curved mouth, and small nose, is merely expressive of gentleness and good nature,—that is, if the eyes could be for a moment left out of sight. *They* shine with a clear, steadfast radiance, which would seem to indicate that the scaling of the heights of Abraham, and the victory at Quebec were the achievements of youthful genius, rather than (as Thackeray intimates), of good luck. A stranger to the fame of General Wolfe would be more likely to surmise his portrait to be that of a poet, than of a soldier. The lips were surely more fitly framed to sing the pensive song, composed and sung by General Wolfe at his mess a few evenings before the assault on Quebec,—

"Why, soldiers, why?

Should we be melancholy boys?

Why, soldiers why?

Whose business 'tis to die"—

Very nearly at the same moment that Wolfe fell, Montcalm, who was fighting opposite the English general, also received his death wound, and was born off on a litter to the general hospital. When told that death was inevitable, he replied, "I am glad of it;" and when informed that he had but ten or twelve hours to live at the most, he exclaimed, "So much the better, I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." When consulted by the commander of the garrison in relation to the defence of the city, he replied, "To your keeping, I commend the honor of France. As for me, I shall pass the night with God, and prepare myself for death." Early the next morning he expired. The English, under General Townsend, continued their preparations for a siege, but before the guns were ready to open fire, De Ramsay, at the urgent solicitation of the citizens, hoisted the white flag; and on the eighteenth of September, the cross of St. George floated from the castle of St. Louis. The shattered army of the French fled to Montreal; and Admiral Saunders, dreading the winter, with one thousand prisoners bore away for England.

The news of the fall of Quebec was hailed both in England and America with acclamations of joy. In England a day was set apart for public thanksgiving; and in America the colonists burned bonfires throughout the land. Yet amid all of these rejoicings, the glory of this victory was fringed with gloom for the loss of the gallant Wolfe; and with the universal delight, was mingled a deep and heartfelt sorrow at his untimely end. Parliament commemorated his services in a monument in Westminster abbey, and Massachusetts, holding him in kindly remembrance, voted to his memory a marble statue. The young general was worthy of all these expressions of affection. To a passionate fondness for his profession of arms, and a

than to give the orders which, carried into execution, occasioned the over-coming of almost insurmountable natural obstacles, and the overthrow of Montcalm.

CHAP. warm love for polite letters, he united a singular modesty ;
V. } and though he possessed a reputation “wide as the civil-
1759. ized world,” yet, in the quaint language of Jeremy Taylor,
“as if he knew nothing of it, he had a low opinion of him-
self; and like a fair taper, when he shined to all the room,
yet round about his own station he had cast a shadow and
a cloud, and he shined to everybody but himself.”

CHAPTER VI.

1759—1760.

It was now October, and the time for which provision ^{CHAP. VI.} had been made for the pay of the Provincial troops would soon expire. General Amherst anticipating this, had ^{1759.} written to the several colonial governors the latter part of September, requesting that their men might be kept in the field two months longer, in order that the campaign which had been so auspiciously carried on during the summer, might be successfully terminated. In response to this reasonable request, Mr. De Lancey summoned the assembly to meet on the seventeenth of October. On account of the then raging small pox in the city, the house met in the suburbs at the lieutenant governor's country seat, which stood within the recollection of persons now living on the east side of the Bowery above Grand street.

In his opening message on the first day of the session, Mr. De Lancey informed the general assembly of the peculiar reasons which had led to its being summoned at this time. The important acquisitions which had been gained from the enemy, rendered it necessary that such measures should at once be taken as would ensure the advantages of the summer's campaign. He was therefore desirous that provision should be made for keeping in the field those of the Provincials who would otherwise be dismissed on the first of November. "You must be sensible," he continued, "that the enemy have had very small supplies of provisions this year from France, and that most of the men in Canada having been in arms this summer, their crops must have suffered greatly. In this pressing situation it cannot be doubted they will use their

CHAP. VI. utmost efforts to repossess themselves of their strongholds,
 1759. if it were only with a design of getting subsistence from
 our magazines : but if they know that there are respectable forts to oppose them, and find that the works are completed, they must lay aside all such attempts as fruitless and vain." These cogent reasons, however, were not needed by the house to convince it of the necessity of prompt action. On the same day it voted a further provision of one month's pay to the troops which had been raised by the province ; and in addition, it resolved with a commendable liberality, to supply each soldier with a pair of shoes and stockings and a warm waistcoat, as a farther encouragement for them to continue in the service. The assembly was then adjourned to the fourth of November.¹

Meanwhile, before the next meeting of the assembly, the colonists were electrified by the farther successes of British arms under General Wolfe ; and by the cheering news from the continent, of the glorious and decisive victories which had crowned the efforts of England and her ally, in the route of the French army at Minden, and the defeat of the French fleet off the coast of Algava. There was indeed abundant cause for gratitude in these signal victories, to which Mr. De Lancey, in his message to the legislature on the sixth of December, did not fail to allude in terms of deep feeling.

1760. Although Quebec had yielded to British prowess, there was much to be done before Canada would be completely subdued. Montreal, Detroit, and La Galette yet remained in possession of the French ; and it was evident that until the last vestige of French supremacy was blotted out, the tribes of the north and northwest, would allow no peace to the entire line of the border. It was therefore determined by the ministry, that the campaign of this year should complete the reduction of Canada. Accordingly, on the twentieth of February, the lieutenant governor of New

York received a circular letter from Secretary Pitt, informing him of the determination of the home government to prosecute the war with vigor. The assembly was there-
 upon convened on the eleventh of March, to respond to the request of the secretary for aid. CHAP.
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“It is the king’s pleasure,” said Mr. De Lancey in his opening address, “that I do forthwith use my utmost endeavors and influence, to induce you to raise, with all possible dispatch, within this government, at least as large a body of men as you did for the last campaign, and even as many more, as the number of its inhabitants may allow, to be formed into regiments, and to hold themselves in readiness as early as may be, to march to the rendezvous at Albany, or such other place as his majesty’s commander in chief in America, shall appoint, in order to proceed from thence, in conjunction with a body of the king’s British forces, so as to be in a situation to begin the operations of the campaign, as soon as shall be in any way practicable, by an irruption into Canada, in order to reduce Montreal, and all other posts belonging to the French, in those parts, and farther to annoy the enemy in such manner, as his majesty’s commander in chief shall from his knowledge of the countries through which the war is to be carried on, and from emergent circumstances, judge to be practicable.” The Provincial officers were also to rank according to their respective commissions, the same as during the last two years. Arms, ammunition, artillery, boats and vessels, were, moreover, to be furnished as heretofore by the parent government; and all that was required on the part of the colonial legislators, was to buy, clothe and equip their own troops.

With renewed confidence in the triumph of British arms, the house proceeded harmoniously in the work for which it had been summoned. A motion of Robert R. Livingston to the effect that an address should be presented, reminding his excellency that the loan to General Amherst was yet unpaid, was negatived; and a like contribution to

CHAP. that of the previous year, was voted, together with a new
VI. emission of sixty thousand pounds to defray it, to be sunk
1760. by an eight year's tax.¹

Any solicitude that might have been felt in relation to the loan, was entirely set at rest by a special message from the executive on the fourteenth of May, in which the house was informed of its entire repayment into the treasury by General Amherst. In the same message, also, aid was solicited for the city of Boston, which had, on the twentieth of March, suffered by an extensive conflagration, by which more than two hundred families had been deprived of a shelter—many of whom were in an extremely destitute condition. The action of the assembly in response to this appeal, was commendable in the highest degree. Although the treasury was very low, owing to the extraordinary demands made upon it during the war, yet twenty-five hundred pounds were at once voted for the relief of its suffering neighbors. Before adjourning the session, Mr. De Lancey gave his assent to several bills, among which was one to regulate the practice of medicine and surgery. “But,” says Smith, “the remedy was very inadequate to the evil, for the law which restrained all unlicensed practices under the penalty of five pounds for every offence, was limited to the capitol, and gave the right of examining the candidates to incompetent judges,—the mayor and the attorney general, assisted by such persons as they should think proper to call upon.”

This was the last meeting of the assembly which James De Lancey ever attended; for upon the thirtieth of July he died very suddenly from an attack of asthma, a malady to which he had for many years been subject. The day previous to his decease, he had visited Staten Island, and dined with Governor Morris, General Prevost, Mr. Walton and several other distinguished men of the day. Late in the evening, he crossed the bay, seemingly laboring under great depression of spirits, and drove to his country seat

¹Journal of the assembly. Manuscript minutes of the council. Smith.

in the suburbs. The next morning he was found by one of his little children, sitting in his library in the last agonies of death. CHAP.
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By his violent political enemies, Mr. De Lancey has been represented as a most unprincipled demagogue, while by his satellites, he has been lauded to the skies as a disinterested citizen and patriot. Neither of these views is correct; and the truth, as is generally the case, lies between the two extremes. Mr. De Lancey, undoubtedly, was very ambitious and fond of notoriety; and his love of power and the emoluments of office, often led him into the commission of acts from which otherwise he would have shrunk. While he has been praised for his "broad and popular principles," and for his "political skill in successfully preserving to the assembly the right of annual appropriations," yet he assumed this position more from a determination to displace Clinton than he himself might rule, than from any love for the people. His course, in 1754, in relation to the college charter, alienated his warmest friends; and although he subsequently bitterly repented of giving his sanction to the act of incorporation, yet it was more on account of his loss of popularity, than from any feeling of liberality. He was, however, possessed of many amiable and noble qualities, and private virtues; his disposition was social and genial, and he was withal a good classical scholar and a profound lawyer. His conduct upon the bench was generally irreproachable; and his decisions, in those cases in which the feelings of the political partizan did not enter, were characterized by fairness and discrimination. His death occurring at this time was a great loss to the province; for numerous as were his faults, he was a man of unquestioned ability. During his long administration, he had made himself thoroughly conversant with Indian relations; and since the departure of Clinton, had heartily coöperated with the Baronet in all his efforts in that department. By his death the political complexion of the province underwent a material change; and Doctor

CHAP. VI. Colden, by virtue of being president of the council, took
 1760. the charge of the government until the wishes of the ministry were known.

As soon as the snows had melted from the hill sides, De Levi was sent by De Vaudreuil, with ten thousand men to invest Quebec. On the return of General Townsend to England, Murray had been left in charge of that city with seven thousand men, and with ample supplies of provisions and artillery. During the winter, however, the garrison had been reduced by sickness and death to little more than three thousand effective men. Such being the case, prudence would have counselled acting strictly on the defensive. Not so thought Murray, who on the twenty-eighth of April sallied forth with his whole available force, and attacked the advanced guard of the enemy, under De Bourlamarque. The latter not only sustained the attack without flinching, but pressed the English so vigorously, that, fearing his retreat would be cut off, the English commander fled into the city, leaving behind him all his artillery and a thousand men. "I am apprehensive," wrote Amherst to the Baronet, in communicating this defeat, "that unless our fleet arrive soon, Mr. Murray may be obliged to retreat to the island of Orleans, which is his intention in case it does not."¹ His apprehensions were fortunately not verified, for five days before his letter was written, a fleet, sent by the foresight of Pitt, appeared in the St. Lawrence; and De Levi, in the greatest alarm, retreated to Montreal, leaving, in his turn, all his stores and forty pieces of cannon in the hands of the English.

During the winter and spring, Sir William Johnson was diligently employed in attending to Indian relations both at home and abroad, and in founding the settlement which subsequently received from its founder the name of Johnstown.¹

¹ Manuscript letter: Amherst to Johnson, 22d May, 1760.

¹ Manuscript letter: Johnson to Brig. Gage, 28th April, 1760.—It has been the generally received impression that Johnstown was founded by Sir William in 1770. *Vide New York Historical Collections*, p. 167.

Teedeyuscung still felt embittered against the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania for their conduct in the purchase of his lands; and in answer to his complaint which he had sent to the king, the Baronet received in February an order from his majesty requesting him to examine into the disputes between the Delaware chief and the Proprietaries. Teedeyuscung, however, ever uneasy, when informed by the superintendent of the prompt attention which his complaint had received, replied that as he was engaged with the governor of Pennsylvania in bringing about a meeting with the western Indians at Easton, the adjustment of his land difficulties must be postponed. This project was immediately vetoed by Sir William, who saw that it would seriously mar the plan of the approaching campaign. Indeed, this disposition of Governor Hamilton to interfere with the management of Indian affairs without consulting his wishes, was a source of much solicitude to him, and he often complained of it as being utterly subversive to his influence.

In the middle of February a council was held at Fort Johnson with the delegates of the Six Nations, for the purpose of soliciting their aid in the coming campaign. There was, however, no need of urging; and the only difficulty which the Baronet experienced, was in restraining their impatience. Numerous questions were asked by the different chiefs, when they were to start, and where they were to be sent. They were, moreover, desirous that their Iroquois kindred should unite with them against the French. Many of them had already done so, and deputations from the Caughnawagas and Skawendadeys had already met them in council. Other tribes, however, still held back, and the influence of the French was still sufficient to infuse into their answers to the friendly messages of the Confederates, a haughty tone. "If," said they, "the Six Nations wish us to join them, let them come to us." This was repeated to Sir William, on the present occasion, and he was not long in inducing the Confederates to return the reply,—that if they would come to Onondaga, they would

CHAP. VI. talk to them there, but not otherwise. The proceedings
 of the conference were enclosed by the Baronet in the fol-
 1760. lowing letter to General Amherst:

FORT JOHNSON, March 7th, 1760.

“Sir:

“As your excellency was pleased to tell me when I had the honor of seeing you at Albany after the last campaign, that you would dispense with my writing to you, unless on matters requiring your immediate cognizance, I deferred troubling you, and gave Brigadier Gage what intelligence I received, which has not been very material.

“I am now to acquaint you that there have been deputies from the Six Nations here lately, to inform me what passed between them and deputies from the Caughnawagas, Skawendadeys, Swegatchys and other French Indians. A copy of what passed at said conferences I herewith send you. There have also been two Swegatchy Indians here, to assure me that the greatest part of their people were determined to leave that settlement and come amongst the Six Nations in the spring. I am far from thinking that this seeming good disposition of theirs proceeds from any real regard for us, but from the low circumstances of the enemy, and their own distresses.

“I was yesterday honored with yours of the 23d ult. Your excellency may depend upon my making use of my utmost influence with all the nations in amity with us, and will lose no time in preparing as many Indians as I can possibly get, to join his majesty’s troops in such operations as your excellency may think fit. Neither shall I neglect to continue to take the properest steps for withdrawing as many Indians from the French as I possibly can.

“My success will depend in a great measure a good deal on circumstances, and the way they are employed, which they are very pressing to know.

“The clothing, arms, and other necessaries I shall begin to provide as soon as I can for the campaign, for which purpose your excellency will please to grant me a warrant

for at least five thousand pounds sterling. The unavoidable expense of supplying great numbers of several nations (who by the failure of their crops of corn, &c., are actually in a famishing condition) has been and continues very considerable, notwithstanding they receive some allowance at the different posts. As all kinds of provisions are very scarce and difficult to be got here for any price, I am greatly distressed: wherefore should be glad your excellency would please to order some pork, peas and flour to be laid in at my house here, for their use, not being able to compass it myself for the want of wagons, battoes, &c., which are employed, or said to be so, in other parts of the service, whenever I have occasion for any.

“I am Sir,

“Your very humble serv’t,

“WM. JOHNSON.

“Major General Amherst.”¹

To this letter General Amherst replied as follows:

“NEW YORK, 16th March, 1760.

“Sir: The last post brought me yours of the 7th instant with its several inclosures, one of which is the conference you held at your house on the thirteenth and fourteenth of last month with deputies from the Six Nations, by which I see that the French Indians assume a superiority, which, from the present low circumstances of their pretended friends the French, little becomes them, and could not have been expected; but however, since they persist in so obstinate and impolitic an attachment, they must take the consequences that will ensue from a continuance of war, which I am determined to pursue with the utmost vigor, and I have not the least doubt but it will end in the entire reduction of Canada; I am therefore hopeful that such of the Confederate nation of Indians in the interest of his majesty, will not be shaken by any speeches of their mistaken brethren, but firmly adhere to their ancient friends

¹ Manuscript letter

CHAP. VI. and allies; and in duty to the king, as well as in gratitude
 1760. for the repeated protection and support they have, and
 daily do receive from his bounty, join heartily in the present
 cause, and be aiding and assisting in the punishment of
 those, who, under the cloak of friendship, do them such
 daily and manifest injuries.

“Nothing can be more proper than your speech to them upon this occasion, and I am hopeful they will open their eyes, and strictly follow your counsel in not going to Canada, since, if the French Indians are sincere, they may safely meet them at Onondaga: and therefore I beg you will continue to insist upon their compliance with your advice.

“In order to contribute to my utmost, to your success in obtaining as many Indians as possible, to join in the ensuing operations, and to withdraw all those you possibly can from the enemy, I inclose you a warrant for five thousand pounds sterling, which you say are requisite for providing clothes, arms, and other necessaries for them; but I must at the same time inform you, that our military chest is again at present, so low, that it cannot discharge that warrant. Wherefore, if you can obtain credit, for some time, for these things, you will greatly aid the service. With regard to satisfying these Indians in relation to where they shall be particularly employed, that is what I cannot yet myself determine; when I am fixed in that respect, you shall be informed of it.

“So soon as I get to Albany, I shall fix with the new contractors the several quantities and species of provisions, which you are desirous to be laid in at your house, for the use of the needful nations.

“Your letter to Teedyuscung, of which you also enclosed me a copy, is likewise very proper, and you did well to guard against their appointing the meeting during any time of the campaign, when you will doubtless be wanted elsewhere; nothing remains therefore now for you to do, than when you are informed of the time the meeting can

take place, to send timely notice to the Proprietarie's commissioners, that they may be punctual in their attendance at it.

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"I am, with great regard

"Sir

"Your most obe't. Humble serv't.

"JEFF. AMHERST.

"Sir William Johnson Baronet."¹

While the Baronet was thus engaged at home in feeding and providing for the wants of his red family, his influence was again required to dissipate the fears of the Illinois and Mississippi Indians, who had taken alarm at the movements of the English. His views upon the course best to be pursued in relation to this matter, is seen by the following letter to General Gage:

Sir William Johnson to Brigadier General Gage.

"FORT JOHNSON March 17th, 1760.

"*Dear Sir.*—The enclosed are copies of two letters and some intelligence I yesterday received from Mr. Croghan my deputy at Pittsburg, and as a great part of it corresponds with some accounts I have had before, as well as with my own judgment of the matter, I thought it my duty to transmit them to you without delay, that General Amherst may be apprised thereof, which I should think he could already be by General Stanwix, to whom Mr. Croghan has my orders to report every item of intelligence he receives.

"If the French can get supplies of provisions from the Illinois or Mississippi, which I think they have ere now, it is but reasonable to expect that they will, with what Indians they may be able to collect, attempt cutting off our convoys to Pittsburg &c., which I think they may readily do, if we have tolerable large escorts, unless the Indians in that part of the country take upon them to keep the road uninfested, or at least assist our troops therein; they

¹ Manuscript letter.

CHAP. VI. are able alone to do the former, if they are inclined so,
 1760. but I am afraid that the building so respectable a fort in their country as Pittsburg, being not at all agreeable to any of the surrounding nations, (though they may not now choose to declare their dislike openly) will make them very lukewarm in our cause. If that should be the case, there is but one thing—to engage them heartily in the service, that is to act generously by them during the war. I am certain if they are properly managed, their service will balance the expense.

“My best respects to your lady, and believe me, sir, with the greatest regard

“Your most obe’t. humble serv’t.

“WM. JOHNSON.

“The Hon. Brig. Gage.”¹

In accordance with the views thus expressed, George Croghan received orders from the superintendent to hold a conference with the Indians at Fort Pitt. The result of his deputy’s negotiations was satisfactory, as appears by the following extract from a letter to the Baronet, from Amherst then in Albany, under date of May sixteenth:

“Major Tullekens arrived this afternoon, and delivered me the copy of a conference, held at Fort Pitt on the sixth of April last, between your deputy, Mr. Croghan, and the Western Indians, by which, as well as by what the major tells me, there seems to be no doubt but every one of these people will readily join his majesty’s arms; indeed, from the present situation of the French, who certainly cannot be supposed able to supply those savages with the needful, and the want the latter must be in of ammunition &c., must turn them all over to our interest, both in those parts as well as in these, and therefore I trust you will have no difficulty in bringing those expected to the field, at the time you mentioned to me.”²

¹ Manuscript letter.

² Ibid.

The plan of the campaign contemplated a simultaneous attack on Montreal from three points. General Murray was to ascend the St. Lawrence from Quebec; Colonel Haviland was to proceed down Lake Champlain, taking possession, on his way, of Isle-aux-noix; and General Amherst was to lead the main army by way of Oswego, with a view of reducing the forts at La Galette and Oswegatchie. For these operations great preparations had been made by Amherst, who had determined to concentrate against Canada his whole available force. The troops under Stanwix in the west were called in, and the garrisons of the smaller forts in the province of New York, even to the handful of men at Fort Johnson, were all brought into requisition.¹ Although General Amherst had purposely delayed his advance until his arrangements could be thoroughly completed, yet he was detained longer than he had intended, by the tardiness of the colonial levies. "The Provincial troops," he wrote to Johnson, "come in slow;" and the delay was still more increased, by the absence of rain for several weeks past, by which the transportation of stores upon the Mohawk and Oneida rivers was greatly retarded.² At length all his arrangements being completed, Amherst left Schenectady, on the twelfth of June, with an army of six thousand Provincials and four thousand regulars. On the twenty-fifth of July, he was joined by Sir William Johnson with six hundred plumed and painted warriors, whose number was increased by the French Iroquois, before the army left Oswego, to thirteen hundred and thirty. Ordering his officers to leave their chests behind, and their men to be equipped as lightly as possible, General Amherst, having sent forward Colonel Haldimand, with one thousand troops to clear the St. Lawrence

¹ "When the troops move forward, I shall not think it requisite to leave any guards in Forts Hunter or Hendrik, and I imagine you will not judge it necessary to have any at Fort Johnson."—*Manuscript letter; Amherst to Johnson*, 24 May, 1760.

² *Manuscript letter; Amherst to Johnson* 16 May, 1760.

CHAP. of any obstructions that might impede the passage of the
VI. bateaux, embarked with his army on the tenth of August.
1760.

On the sixteenth of the same month, the advance, under Haldimand, came in sight of a French brig armed with six twelve pounders and four two pounders, lying at anchor and defending the entrance to Oswegatchie. The same evening the troops landed about a quarter of a mile above the town and spent the night under arms, unharm- ed by the guns of the brig, which continued to fire at the camp during the entire night. Early the next morning, the row-galleys under a severe fire grappled the brig, which, after a desperate engagement of more than three hours, struck her colors and surrendered to the English. The same day the army which had now come up, took possession of the town, the enemy having deserted it and fled to La Galette, or Isle Royal. General Amherst remained at Oswegatchie only long enough to properly garrison that post, and on the seventeenth, advanced against Isle Royal, which was defended by Fort Levi, a formidable work. The troops worked so diligently, that by the twenty-second, three batteries had been placed in position on the main land; and on the ensuing day, the batteries, assisted by three vessels under Captain Loring, opened a brisk cannonade upon the fort. Nothing being gained by this fire, and the vessels having suffered considerable damage from the enemy's guns,—one of the ships having been run aground and abandoned—preparations were made to carry the fort by storm. This, however, was prevented by M. Pouchot, the commandant, who on the twenty-fifth, sounded a parley, and surrendered himself and the garrison prisoners of war.¹

On the capitulation of Fort Levi, the Indians, having found in the deserted cabins of the enemy a few Mohawk scalps, wished at once to fall upon the garrison and commence a general massacre. Sir William's influence, how-

¹ Manuscript letter; Captain George Clinton to his father. *Mante. Knox's Journal.*

ever, again prevailed, and, though not without much ill temper, they retired to their encampment. That same night, while the savages, deeply chagrined, were brooding over this fancied grievance, an officer, partly in anger and partly in jest, observed to some one in his tent, that the English would, on their return from the expedition, exterminate the Indian race. An Indian, overhearing the remark, communicated it to his companions, seven hundred of whom immediately loaded their muskets, and in great wrath threatened to return home, declaring that it was high time to provide for the security of their families.¹ The next day many of them made good their threats, "though there still remained a sufficient number," wrote Johnson to Secretary Pitt, "to answer our purpose and bring us constant intelligence."

Previous to leaving Oswego, Sir William had dispatched several Indian Messengers, with offers of peace and protection, to nine tribes residing in the vicinity of Montreal, and who, being able to bring into the field eight hundred warriors, had it in their power to give considerable trouble were they so disposed. Fortunately, the tribes received this embassy with favor; and on the Baronet's arrival at Fort Levi, he was met by deputies from each of the nine tribes, who, at this time ratified a treaty with the English, in which they bound themselves to a strict neutrality, on condition that they should hereafter be treated as friends, and that all their past enmity should be forgotten. The benefits of this peace were soon obvious. Many of the Indians joined the English and brought in numerous prisoners; while the remainder preserved such a strict neutrality, that the dangerous rapids of the St. Lawrence were passed in comparative safety, and the entire journey to Montreal accomplished without opposition.²

¹ "Review of the trade and affairs of the Indians in the northern district of America." Drawn up for the lords of trade by Sir William Johnson. *N. Y. Col. Doc.* vii, 960.

² Manuscript letter; Johnson to Pitt.

CHAP. VI. On the last day of August, General Amherst again
 1760. embarked, and proceeding cautiously down the St. Lawrence, passed the rapids, with the loss of only forty-six men—a loss which must be considered trifling, when the vastness of the armament is taken into account. So admirably had the plans of Amherst been matured, that when, on the sixth of September, he appeared before Montreal, General Murray, on the same day, approached it from Quebec; and the next day Colonel Haviland also joined the army with his division. De Vaudreuil, seeing the folly of farther resistance, signed a capitulation, on the eighth of September, by which Canada, with all her dependencies, was surrendered to the crown of Great Britain. General Gage remained in Montreal as governor; and General Amherst, having ordered Murray to garrison Quebec with four thousand men, returned the last of September to New York, to be received with the firing of cannon and a general illumination.

Thus before the foliage had put on the rich tints of autumn, the reduction of Canada was complete. By the consummate judgment of Amherst, who was as humane as he was brave, this conquest had been achieved with comparatively little bloodshed; and the nation's joy, on the reception of the intelligence, was marred not by weeping households, and seats vacant at the fireside. The footsteps of the victors were traced by no smouldering ruins nor desolated farms; and the harvests in the open fields yet waited for the sickle. "Sir William Johnson," wrote Amherst at this time, "has taken unwearied pains in keeping the Indians in humane bounds; and I have the pleasure to assure you, that not a peasant woman or child, has been hurt by them, or a house burned since I entered what was the enemy's country."¹

¹ A tacit tribute to Sir William Johnson is paid by General Amherst, in article 9th of the "Articles of Capitulation between Major General Amherst and the Marquis De Vaudreuil." The article as proposed by the French commander reads as follows:—"The British general shall engage to send back, to their own homes, the Indians and Morajians, who make

French colors still floated over Detroit, Michilimacki-^{CHAP. VI.}nae, and the more remote posts of St. Marie, Green Bay, and St. Joseph. Accordingly, on the fourth day after the capitulation, Major Rogers received orders from the commander-in-chief, to take possession of those posts, in the name of his Britannic majesty. The day after he received his instructions, the bold ranger set out upon his perilous mission with two hundred of his tried followers, in fifteen whale-boats. Ascending the foaming surges of La Chine and the Cedars, and halting for a day at La Galette to repair the damage which their boats had received from the rapids, they landed at dusk of the twenty-third, at the ruins of Fort Frontinac. Here they remained two days feasting on venison and wild-fowl, which the surrounding Indians, anxious to make friends with their new masters, hastened to bring as an offering of peace. In this manner, occasionally amusing themselves with killing a deer or spearing a salmon, the rangers coasted along the northern shore of Lake Ontario, and arrived, on the first day of October, at Niagara. At this post the party stopped a day to repair the boats, which were again in a leaky condition, and to fit themselves out with blankets and warm coats, which the increasing severity of the season demanded. Leaving Captain Brewer to follow with the men, Rogers, accompanied by two officers, hastened on in advance to Fort Pitt with dispatches, with which he had been charged by Amherst, for Brigadier General Monckton. Having faithfully executed this trust, he rejoined his party at Presque Isle. His force was now increased by Deputy Croghan, who by the orders of Sir William Johnson, had

part of his armies, immediately after the signing of the present capitulation. And, in the meantime, the better to prevent all disorders on the part of those who may not be gone away, the said generals shall give safe guards to such persons as shall desire them, as well in the town as in the country." The British general, as if sturdily remanding the marquis to the facts, writes at the foot of the article—"The first part REFUSED. There never have been any cruelties committed by the Indians of our army; and good order shall be preserved."

CHAP. VI. joined him with a number of Indians, and also by a com-
 1760. pany of Royal Americans under Captain Campbell. As several of the boats and a large quantity of provisions had been lost in the passage from Niagara, the detachments were divided into two companies. One division under Brewer, took the land route to Detroit with a drove of forty oxen, kindly furnished by Colonel Bouquet; and was accompanied by Sir William's interpreter, Captain Montour, with twenty of the Six Nations to serve as scouts.

The division that went by water endured much hardship. The chill winds of late autumn, sweeping across the lake, benumbed the joints of the rowers; and many times the white cap waves nearly swamped the boats. Indeed, it required the utmost precaution to prevent the shipwreck of the entire party. If a gale arose in the day time, a red flag from the major's boat warned the little fleet to land; while a blue flag displayed at sunset, signified that the journey might be continued with safety during the night. Thus cautiously proceeding, the rangers on a dark and dreary November day, drew up their boats on the sands, at the mouth of a river whose precise locality cannot now be ascertained.¹ In the midst of a cold drizzling rain they pitched their tents under the shelter of a neighboring forest, and prepared to remain until

¹ Francis Parkman, in his elaborate work on Pontiac, says "the Cuyahoga river, the present site of Cleveland." Bancroft thinks it to have been the Elk, now the Chagrin river. Rogers himself calls it the Chogage. That it was not the *Cuyahoga* river, I am inclined to think from this fact, viz; In Sir Wm. Johnson's private diary, kept by him on his journey to and from Detroit in the summer of 1761, occurs this entry on his return east, just after leaving Sandusky: "Embarked this morning at 6 of ye clock, and intend to beach near to *Cuyahoga* this day." From this it would seem that the river as well as its orthography, was well known at that day by the name of Cuyahoga, and therefore had that been the river, at the mouth of which Rogers stopped, he would have told us so, instead of saying, the Chogage. It was probably the *Sheawga*—now Grand river—The similarity of the two words—Chogage and Sheawga, is obvious; while a vessel could easily keep a south-westerly course for forty-eight miles after leaving this river—the course which Rogers says he took.

they could pursue their journey under more auspicious signs. CHAP.
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S scarcely had the rangers fastened their boats securely to the shore, when they were waited on by a deputation of Ottawas, who informed their leader, that the great Pontiac¹ was the king and lord of that country, and that he was even then on his way to meet him. Presently the haughty chieftain made his appearance, and demanded of the ranger "why he had ventured into his country with troops without his permission." When told by Rogers in reply, that his mission was pacific; that he had come only to carry into effect one of the conditions of the capitulation of Montreal; and that the troops were merely to escort back the French garrisons, the chieftain's tone softened, and he agreed to take the subject of their farther advance, into serious consideration. "Meantime," said the chieftain, presenting a belt of wampum, "*I stand in your path.*" 1760.

The next day, Pontiac sent in to the camp gifts of parched corn and other necessities; and at a second meeting the chief informed the ranger, as they together smoked the calumet of peace, that he had now the most friendly feelings toward him and his company, and that they could pass through his country unmolested.

The detachment were again in motion on the twelfth of November; and passing in safety,—through the influence of Pontiac,—an ambush of four hundred hostile Indians, they appeared before Detroit, on the twenty-ninth of November. The commander of that post had already been informed of the mission of the English, by a letter from De Vaudreuil, which Major Rogers had sent forward in advance of the party. On the appearance of the English, therefore, the garrison marched out in front of the fort, and laid down their arms amid the triumphant yells of seven hundred savages, until then the fast allies of the

¹ The name of Pontiac, which is in accordance with the Ottawa dialect, takes a *d* in the Chippewa.

CHAP. VI. French. But there was one, who standing aloof from the
rest, shared not the general joy; and as the French colors
1760. were lowered from the flag-staff, Pontiac saw in that act,
the downfall of Indian supremacy in America.¹

¹ *Rogers's Journal; Rogers's account of North America; Parkman's Life of Pontiac; Schoolcraft's Lecture upon Pontiac*, 1841. Rogers found at Detroit \$500,000 worth of furs—*Manuscript letter; Johnson to Wharton*, 23 May, 1770.

CHAPTER VII.

1761.

With the capture of Quebec, the political influence of the Indian race began to wane. The reason is obvious. So long as the two great powers of England and France contended for the mastery among the rocks and solitudes of North America, both nations had striven to win the affections of the red man, that they might convert him into a powerful ally. In this, the French had been vastly more successful than the English. This was owing, as we have seen, partly to the religious element which they introduced into their persuasions, but more, perhaps, to their having treated the Indian as a fellow being. All the tribes of the north and north-west, and some of the nations in the south, had acknowledged their influence, and cheerfully yielded to their sway. The causes which prevented their winning over the Six Nations, both before and during the life of Sir William Johnson, have been fully explained; although indeed even of that people, some few from each nation had wandered off to Oswegatchie, and there settled. Thus until the reduction of Canada, the Indians had always held the balance of power in America. Rapid, however, as their political decline would have been from this time, had no extraneous influences intervened, yet various causes greatly hastened this result.

Although the French had entirely relinquished the idea of ever again possessing Canada, yet with a malicious pleasure they still continued to stir up jealousy and hatred among the Indians, against the English. It is moreover the sad truth, that the conduct of the colonists themselves was directly calculated to aid their efforts. We have

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CHAP. already seen, how strenuously Sir William Johnson labored
 VII. to maintain a good understanding between the English
 1761. garrisons and the Confederates; and the animosity on the part of the soldiers toward the Six Nations, which, so long as it had been necessary for their own safety to humor the Indians, had been curbed, now that the same necessity no longer existed, burst forth with renewed intensity. "We are now left in peace," wrote some Christian Oneidas, in the simplicity of their hearts, to Sir William, "and have nothing to do but to plant our corn, hunt the wild beasts, smoke our pipes, and mind religion. But as these forts, which are built among us, disturb our peace, and are a great hurt to religion, because some of our warriors are foolish, and some of our brother soldiers don't fear God, we therefore desire that these forts may be pulled down, and *kicked out of the way*." Scenes between the soldiers and the Indians, such as are related in the sachem Abraham's speech, in Appendix No. 1 of this volume, became disgracefully frequent; and although those garrisons that came within the immediate circle of the Baronet's influence, and therefore more under his control, were kept within bounds, yet, in forts more remote, scenes daily occurred, the relation of which causes the honest cheek to mantle with shame for the honor of the English race.

But these were not the only wrongs which the Indian, through the silent watches of the night, brooded over on his bear skin couch. Unscrupulous traders, like a flock of harpies, hovered over their prey until they could safely pounce upon their victims; and now that hostilities had ceased, they poured in from all quarters upon the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Many of the traders were men of desperate fortunes—villains of the vilest sort; who, while they cheated and plundered the Indian, hesitated not to outrage his wife or daughter to gratify their brutal passions:—"offering when compared with the French traders, who were under better regulations, a most unfavorable example of the character of their

nation." The government officers, also, though forced by their position to conduct themselves more decorously, in many instances neglected no opportunity of cheating the Indians, by selling to them at a high price, those articles that the government had sent to be distributed among them as presents. Guns, ammunition, and clothing, moreover, which the French had always been in the habit of giving to their red allies, were now, through a mistaken policy, suddenly withheld; so that many of those nations, who had thrown away the bow and arrow for the powder horn and rifle, were in an extremely destitute, if not a starving condition.

It was also evident, that the neglect with which the nations of the far west had been treated by the English, since they had occupied the posts on the great lakes, was another source of dissatisfaction. In the spring of this year, Alexander Henry, an English trader, traveled to Michilimackinac, and whenever he came in contact with the western tribes, he found the most inimical feelings against his nation, who, said the Indians, had by no word or deed, done anything to conciliate them. At Michilimackinac, which place he reached at great peril of his life, he was waited upon by Minavavana, a Chippewa chief, who, while he promised protection to the trader, inveighed bitterly against the neglect with which his people were treated by the English, as shown, more especially, in the fact that no treaty had yet been made with his people, nor presents sent to them.¹

¹ Travels of Alexander Henry.

During this interval, the Chippewa chieftain delivered to Henry the following phillipie:

"Englishmen! Although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us! We are not your slaves! These lakes, these woods, these mountains, were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread, and pork and beef. But you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us upon these broad lakes and in these mountains."

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While the savages of the north west were cherishing these hostile feelings, the Delaware and Ohio Indians were again viewing with suspicion the movements of the Ohio company, who, having, in 1760, sent to England for such instructions to the Virginia government as would enable them to successfully prosecute their undertaking, were now preparing to colonize their original grant. Along the borders, also, of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the settlers who had fled to the cities at the beginning of the war, were gradually reoccupying their old farms; while to add to all these grievances, General Monckton had, in the summer of the same year, by a treaty at Pittsburg, prevailed upon the Indians to allow the building of military posts in their wild lands—each stockade having land enough around it for a garrison garden.¹

But while these gradual encroachments were going on in the west, the wrath of the Confederates was kindled at the rumored settlement of Wyoming by the Connecticut settlers. They were also the more irritated, as they had always justly considered the Wyoming lands as their own property, the right to which they had never relinquished.¹ “I am sorry to acquaint you,” wrote Governor Hamilton to Sir William Johnson, “that the Wyoming settlement still goes on,—the very place appointed by the Six Nations for the residue of the Delawares and other tribes, who were obliged to remove from the inward forts of the province on account of the great increase of our people, which spoil their hunting; and I have been, and still am, so much afraid

North American Review, July 1839.—At a council held in August of this year, at Philadelphia, a sachem of the Six Nations said: “We, your brethren of the Seven Nations, are penned up like boys. *There are forts all around us*, and therefore we are apprehensive that death is coming upon us.”

“Nothing is more certain than that the lands do yet belong to these nations; [the Six Nations] having never, that I have heard of, been fairly and openly purchased from them. Nor can the people of any other province have a right to purchase lands in the very heart of Pennsylvania—all such purchases being declared null and void by an ancient and standing law of this government.—*Manuscript letter; Governor Hamilton to Johnson, 12th May, 1761.*

that this manner of proceeding will occasion a fresh rupture with the Indians, that I have written to General Amherst upon it, and prayed his interposition; in addition to which, I now also beg the favor of yours in such a manner as you shall judge most proper; and unless by these means a stop can be put to this enterprise, I despair of its being done at all.”¹ CHAP.
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1761. Despite of all efforts, however, the Connecticut company were sufficiently influential to settle the valley; and although the rupture with the Six Nations, which the governor of Pennsylvania so much feared, did not occur during the life time of the Baronet, yet it was only deferred; and from the massacre of Wyoming, in 1778, until the close of the revolutionary struggle, revenge upon Wyoming seemed a cherished luxury to the infuriated savage, who regarded that settlement as an object of inextinguishable rancor—of unappeasable hate. In addition to all this, the Mohawks had also their own peculiar wrongs to settle with those land speculators from Albany and Schenectady, whose frauds they yet remembered with an intensity only increased by long meditation upon the subject.

Yet with all these causes of irritation rankling in their breasts, and with the example before them of the Cherokees, who were now waging a bloody war along the frontiers of Georgia and the Carolinas, the Six Nations, ever under the persuasive influence of the Baronet, remained, with the exception of a few Senecas, faithful to their ancient alliance. Sufficient apprehension, however, was excited to show the necessity of at once conciliating the tribes of the north west. In June, Captain Campbell, who had been left in charge of Detroit, the preceding autumn, was startled by intelligence that the Senecas had not only sent belts of wampum to the nations from Nova Scotia to the Illinois, inviting them to take up the hatchet against the English, but that two of their chiefs were even then holding a private council with the Wyandots, to induce them to massacre the neighboring garrison at Detroit. But this

¹ Manuscript letter; Gov. Hamilton to Johnson, 12th May, 1761.

CHAP. V. was not all. Farther investigation revealed that the Sen-
 1759. }ecas, Shawanese and Delawares, having assembled at a certain rendezvous, were to fall simultaneously upon Niagara and Fort Pitt, the garrisons of which were also to be tomahawked and scalped. Immediately upon the receipt of this information, Captain Campbell sent expresses to General Amherst and the officers commanding at the different frontier posts, putting them on their guard; and thus this partially matured plot was for the present broken up¹

Such was the condition of Indian relations, when in the early summer of this year, Sir William Johnson, whose jurisdiction extended over all the tribes of the northern colonies, determined, at the request of General Amherst, to visit Detroit.² His main object in this was twofold:—first to conclude a solid and lasting treaty with the western tribes—the neglect of which had been a source of so much dissatisfaction; and secondly, to regulate the fur trade, and settle the prices of clothes and provisions at those posts, which, until recently, had been occupied by the French. Since the close of hostilities, the conduct of many of the traders, as has been intimated, had been shameful in the extreme; and it was with a view of correcting this source of annoyance, that the entire supervision of all trade along the northern tier of forts, was now given to the Baronet; so that, hereafter, no trader could pursue his traffic unless he had a license granted him by the latter, or by his deputy, George Croghan. But Sir William Johnson had other motives in this journey. Among the Baronet's papers, I find the following memoranda of several matters to be attended to upon his arrival at Detroit:³

¹ Manuscript letter; Captain Campbell to major Walters, commanding at Niagara "17th June, 1761—two o'clock in the morning."

² Although the death of George II. in October 1760, dissolved Sir William Johnson's commission as superintendent, &c., yet a new one was granted him by George III, "during the king's pleasure," in March of this year.

³ The insertion of the sememoranda in the text is not deemed irrelevant,

“1st. To learn from M. La Bute and St. German the ^{CHAP. VII.} names of several nations of Indians in this country, their number of men, places of residence, their connections, ^{1761.} disposition and wars.

“2d. How many posts the French had in the Indian country, the number of men in each, how maintained, *from whom they received their orders*, how often relieved, how liked by the Indians, on what footing trade was carried on with the Indians in all those parts—and how far the bounds of Canada extend, and that of Mississippi.

“3d. Whether the French had any shipping on the Lakes Huron, Michigan and Superior; whether and which of them is reckoned the best navigation, how late and early they can be used in the season.

“4th. Which post or place was always looked upon as the best for trade; what prices the French generally paid for beaver, furs, &c.

“5th. What posts and settlements from Mississippi to the Illinois country, and what number of inhabitants, soldiers and slaves.”

The journey was now, even more perilous than when undertaken by Major Rogers, the previous autumn; but the mutterings of those distant tribes could no longer be passed unheeded; while no one could so well pour oil upon the troubled waters, as the Baronet, whose intimate knowledge of the Indian character and widely extended influence would, it was hoped, shield him from danger.

Previous to his leaving home, the Baronet acquainted both the Mohawk castles with the object of his intended journey, requesting them to behave as courteously as possible to their white neighbors during his absence. The Indians appeared to be pleased with his object in going, but at the same time confessed to him their solicitude for his personal safety. They also seemed gratified at his

going to show, as they do, the great extent of country over which was Sir William Johnson's jurisdiction, and the minuteness of detail, as well as the method, which was so characteristic of him.

CHAP. thus throwing them upon their good behavior; and since
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 1761. he was determined to go, they promised to follow strictly
 his advice, and use all their influence to prevent their
 young men from committing any irregularities either with
 the soldiers or the inhabitants. They, however, begged
 that he would forbid their white brethren pressing and
 teasing them for their lands, "which, they said," were
 now so clipped about at every side, that they could scarce
 live by hunting on what was now left." In reply, they
 were assured that no land could now be taken from them
 until it had been fairly purchased—his majesty having
 given it particularly in charge to his governors, to see that
 no land was taken up without their consent, and payment
 being made them for it." "They expressed much satisfac-
 tion at this," adds Sir William in his private diary, "and
 so we parted." ¹

Everything being at length in readiness, and the large quantities of goods, sent by General Amherst for the use of the Indians at Detroit, having arrived, Sir William, upon the fifth of July, set out from Fort Johnson. He was accompanied by his son, John Johnson, and by his nephew—subsequently his son in law—Lieutenant Guy Johnson, who was to act as his private secretary. Captain Andrew Montour, and a few Mohawks and Oneidas, also went with the party to act as a sort of body guard. The water being very low—owing to the severe drouth which had continued for some weeks previous, and which, indeed, lasted the entire summer—great difficulty was experienced with the heavily laden bateaux in passing down Wood creek. While the party were thus delayed at Fort Stanwix, they were overtaken by Colonel Eyre, with a letter to the Baronet from General Amherst, enclosing the communication from Captain Campbell in relation to the designs of the Senecas, to which allusion has already been made. Resolved to

¹ The private manuscript diary to which allusion is here made, was kept by Sir William Johnson during his journey to and from Detroit, and is given at length in appendix No. iv. of this volume.

find out how far this conspiracy was participated in by the Confederacy, the Baronet took occasion, upon the chief sachem of the Tuscaroras coming into his tent, to question him in regard to it. To the questions, whether any deputies had been sent by the Six Nations to Detroit during the spring and summer, the sachem answered, that two had been sent by the Senecas; that the Cayugas were also to have sent one, but on the arrival of the Cayuga deputy in the Seneca country, he was told that it would not be prudent for him to venture so far alone, and that he had therefore remained at home. On his being farther asked the object of the Seneca's journey, he replied, that it was understood they had gone, on behalf of the Six Nations, to perform the ceremony of condolence for those Indians who had been killed in the battle of Niagara; that some Cayugas had also gone to Cadaraqui to perform the same ceremony with the northern Indians, and that upon their return, a meeting was to be called at Onondaga, when the result of both meetings would be made known to the whole Confederacy. "After this," says the private diary just quoted, "I let him know, he being one of their most sensible men, that the Senecas who went to Detroit, were acting another part, and that their plot was discovered. I then told him as much of the intelligence sent by Captain Campbell, as I thought necessary, and laid before him the madness of such an attempt, and the very fatal consequences of it to all their nations; concluding with my advice to him and all of them, that if any such wicked design was intended, he, and the rest of the considerate part of them, would immediately put a stop to it—otherwise it must inevitably bring on their ruin, which, I was certain, would be more agreeable to his majesty to avoid if possible. On hearing what I said, he seemed much surprised, and declared there was no such scheme agreed on by the Six Nations, nor such message sent by them to the Detroit or Cadaraqui meetings; that if what I now told him was true, it must come from the Seneca Nation; and he con-

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CHAP. VII. }
 1761. } cluded by assuring me he would, on his arrival at his castle, acquaint the rest of the sachems, and then fall on the best measures they could, to find out what the Senecas had done at Detroit, and if it was, as they now heard, would endeavor to put a stop to it." The information which the Tuscarora gave, the Baronet afterward ascertained was correct; and with the exception of the Senecas, all suspicion of the faith of the Confederacy was removed.

At Oswego, which was reached on the nineteenth, the Baronet tarried two days to distribute among those Indians who had remained with the army the preceding year, some silver medals sent to them by General Amherst as a reward for their good conduct.¹ He also found it necessary to hold a small council with the Onondagas, in order to allay the jealousy which his contemplated visit to Detroit had provoked. "We are surprised," said their speaker, "at your going to call a council at Detroit, when you know that the chief and only council fire burns at your house and Onondaga; besides these Indians you are going to, ought rather, as being aggressors, to come to you. You recommend to us to mind our hunting and trade, and to live in friendship with our brethren at the several posts. This we would be very desirous of doing, but they, by their behavior to us at the several posts, seem not to have any liking for us, and use us very ill at times, taking our women from us by violence, using them and us ill, and hindering us from hunting and fishing on our own grounds near the posts—often taking what we catch and kill from us. This is not agreeable to the promises made us, or the friendship so long subsisting between us and you. We beg, brother, you will interpose and see justice done us, and that there may be a fair trade carried on by your people." Thus, whenever opportunity was given, throughout the entire journey complaints were poured into the Baronet's ears, of the injustice and rapacity of the traders—showing

¹ These medals, by order of Amherst, were stamped upon one side with the Baronet's coat of arms.

that his journey had not been undertaken a moment too early.

On the twenty-fourth, the party arrived at Niagara; and on the thirty-first Sir William dispatched the following letter to General Amherst:

“NIAGARA, July 30th, 1761.

“Sir:

“Although I did myself the honor of writing your excellency the 24th inst. by one of the traders, I would not slip so favorable an opportunity of Colonel Eyre’s return, to inform you that since my last, I had a meeting with several chiefs of the Chipewigh nation and some Mississageys, to whom I expressed my satisfaction at the good character I had here received of them; and after communicating the intention of my journey, I recommended it to them to continue to deserve our friendship and protection, which were so essential to their own interest. I then desired them to send some of their sachems to be present at the general meeting at Detroit, that they might be able to acquaint their nations with what might pass at the meeting, and let them know the mutual engagements entered into thereat, by the several nations of Indians and us; and concluded with promises to use all my endeavors for the better regulating of trade, and with assuring them of our friendship so long as their conduct deserved it. The chief of the Chipeweighs returned many thanks for what I had said, and after smoking out of one pipe together, according to their custom—the smoke of which, they said, would ascend so high as to be seen by all the nations over the lakes—they begged I would consider their necessities, having scarcely clothes to cover them, they not being able to trade, as they were not allowed to buy powder for hunting, and ended with requesting that they might have some provisions. I have received a very good character from the commanding officer, and every one else here, of these Indians’ behavior, and am convinced they are not concerned in any schemes against us.

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“I intend giving them some clothing; but I see plainly, that there appears to be an unusual jealousy amongst every nation, on account of the hasty steps they look upon we are taking towards getting possession of their country, which uneasiness, I am certain, will never subside whilst we encroach within the limits which, you may recollect, have been put under the protection of the king in the year 1726, and confirmed to them by him and his successors ever since, and by orders sent to the governors not to allow any of his subjects settling thereon; which they were acquainted with, by his late majesty, in your speech of the twenty-second of April 1760, delivered by Brigadier General Monckton. You then promised to prevent any person, whatsoever, from settling or even hunting therein; but that it should remain their absolute property. I thought it necessary to remind your excellency thereof, as the other day on my riding to the place where the vessels are building, I found some carpenters at work, finishing a large house for one Mr. Stirling, near the falls, and have since heard others are shortly to be built thereabouts. As this must greatly add to the Indians’ discontent, being on the carrying-place, and within the very limits, which, by their own agreement, they are not so much as allowed to dispose of, I should be glad to know whether I can acquaint them that those people will be ordered to remove or not; and I hope from your excellency’s answer to be able to satisfy them on that head.

“I am also apprehensive, the erecting a fort at Sandusky will likewise greatly alarm them; and I could wish that I had time enough at Detroit, to reconcile them to our establishing ourselves there, which otherwise will give great disgust to the nations of the [Ottawa] Confederacy.

“I yesterday dispatched a boat to Sandusky, with a letter to Mr. Croghan, with orders immediately on its arrival there, to proceed with the Indians to Detroit, as I cannot now delay my journey by calling at a place so much out of my route. I have also by the same opportunity written

to Captain Campbell to inform him of my being thus far ^{CHAP. VII.} on my way, and to apprise the Indians, in that quarter, of ^{1761.} Major Gladwin's coming with some troops, that they may not be alarmed at their appearance. My bateaux with the presents are not arrived, but as I may now hourly expect them, hope to be enabled to set out from hence in a few days.

"I am Sir

"Your most humble serv't

"WM. JOHNSON.

General Amherst."¹

Is it strange that the red men revered the writer of this letter, when all their interests were watched by him with such a jealous eye?

While the party were detained here for the boats, the Baronet, having resolved to ferret out the designs of the Senecas, called that nation to a council on the eighth of August. In this conference, the sachems were taken severely to task for their behavior. After informing them of the suspicions under which they rested, the Baronet asked them plainly if it was with their sanction that the deputies had gone to the Wyandot village? In their reply, the next day, they appeared surprised at the charge against their nation, and denied any knowledge of the affair. They stated, however, that the two deputies who had gone to the Wyandots lived near Fort Pitt, and that they had probably been induced to do so by Jean Cœur, who, they said, had long meditated the massacre of the English garrisons by the Indians, in case the French should be conquered.

In this denial, the Baronet evidently did not place much confidence; for in his reply, he addressed them as follows:

"*Brethren of the Seneca Nation*: I have with attention and surprise heard you now declare your innocence and ignorance of the late message to Detroit by two of your

¹ Manuscript letter.

CHAP. VII. people, who, although they live detached from you, would
1761. not, I am certain, presume to take upon them an affair of
that kind, without your consent or approbation, as I well
know, that in matters of less moment you all consult each
other. As this is so villainous an affair, and carried so far,
I must tell you plainly, that I look upon what you now
tell me only as an evasion, and a kind of excuse to blind
us. And I tell you, that all the excuses you can make,
and all the rhetoric your nation is master of, will not sat-
isfy the general, nor convince me of your innocence unless
a deputation of your chiefs appear at the general meeting,
which I am now calling at Detroit, and then in the pre-
sence of all the nations, declare your innocence, and disap-
probation of what was done by the two messengers last
month at Detroit. This, I expect you will do, to show
your brethren your innocence, and all the Indians your
detestation of so vile and unnatural a plot." "I here
returned them their own wampum," says the Baronet, "to
show them I paid no regard to what they said—which
greatly staggered them all; and after some time spent
in talking, their speaker said, "Brother, you are very
hard upon us after our honest declaration of innocence.
However, as it does not give you satisfaction, we will
send off to-morrow morning your belt to our nation with
what you have said thereon; and we doubt not but some
of our chief men will be ready to go to the proposed meet-
ing at Detroit, and there satisfy you and the world of
their innocence." Sir William appeared satisfied with
this, and having expressed the hope that they would
lose no time, that the meeting might not be delayed,
promised to give them a few presents on the next day. In
reply to their request for ammunition, they were told it
was owing to their ill behavior, the previous year, in leav-
ing him after the surrender of Isle Royal, that they were
treated with so little attention; besides how could they
expect that arms and ammunition would be placed in the
hands of people "who were mad enough to think of

quarreling with the English?" However, as they had now CHAP.
VII. solemnly declared themselves innocent of the charge, and had promised to behave hereafter as friends, they were told that they should have sufficient ammunition to kill some game on their journey home.¹ The conference then ended; and the chiefs retired, doubtless well pleased at having escaped so easily. 1761.

On the nineteenth, the party having been joined by a company of the Royal Americans, and a few New York volunteers under Lieutenant Ogden, embarked in thirteen bateaux and one birch canoe. The voyagers were overtaken on the twenty-fifth, by Captain Lottridge with dispatches from General Amherst, announcing the capture of Belle Isle, and the defeat of the Cherokees, on the tenth of July, by Colonel Grant. This intelligence diffused general joy; and by the order of the Baronet, the party went on shore, that the Royal Americans, having been drawn up into line, might fire three volleys and drink a glass to his majesty's health. With the exception of this circumstance, the voyage to Detroit was without incident; and on the third of September, the mouth of the Detroit river having been reached, Sir William made the following entry in his diary:

"*Thursday 3d.* At four o'clock I arose, and wrote Mr. Croghan a few lines by Mr. Gambling's canoe to meet me about six miles this side of the fort with horses. I take Mr. Gambling in my boat: Fine morning but cold and the wind right ahead. Embarked at seven o'clock, and on our way passed several fine islands, and drowned meadows: about twelve, came to the house of Captain Jones of the militia, which is the best house I have seen in the neighborhood. Eat some melon there, and set off for Detroit, which is but a league from the house. Opposite the

² Manuscript private diary. For a fuller account of Sir William's transaction with these Senecas at Niagara, and his farther proceedings with Old Belt, a Seneca chief who arrived the eleventh, see private diary in appendix iv.

CHAP. VII. Huron toward Potawatemy village, saw Mr. Croghan and
 1761. St. Martin, the Huron interpreter, with horses expecting
 us. On coming farther the Indian towns drew out, and
 began to fire with cannon and fire-arms, which I returned
 by three vollies from the Royal American detachment.
 Then went on shore and rode to town through a number
 of settlements. All along the road was met by Indians,
 and near the town by the inhabitants, traders, &c. When
 I came to the verge of the fort, the cannon thereof were
 fired, and the officers of the garrison, with those of Gage's
 light infantry, received me, and brought me to see my
 quarters which is the house of the late commandant Mr.
 Belleter."

On the following day, deputations from different tribes
 waited upon Sir William, bringing presents of maize.
 This the latter reciprocated by giving the Indians pipes
 and tobacco, and a barbecue of a large ox roasted whole.
 Belts, meanwhile, were sent out to the several nations of
 the Ottawa Confederacy, notifying them of the approach-
 ing council. While waiting for their answers, Sir Wil-
 liam's time was fully occupied. The provisions which he
 had confidently expected from Fort Pitt for the Indians,
 had not yet arrived, boats were accordingly sent back to
 Niagara to bring a sufficient supply. Many of the Indian
 presents, owing to the leaking of the boats on the passage,
 were entirely spoiled. The number of the garrisons to be
 stationed at the remote parts of Michillimackinac, St. Marie,
 and St. Joseph, had to be settled;¹ and the "instructions
 and orders" for the officers, who were to have the charge
 of those posts, made out. His speech to the Indians at
 the coming treaty had also to be written, and the fur trade
 and the general traffic of the traders to be arranged; so
 that altogether he had his hands full. The evenings,
 however, were devoted to recreation; and while the days

¹ The soldiers were distributed as follows:—an officer and thirty men at Michillimackinac; an officer and fifteen men at St. Joseph: and the same number at the Miamies and other posts.

were occupied in close consultations with Major Gladwin and Captain Campbell in reference to military and Indian relations, the nights were spent in dances given in honor of the Baronet, in which the French officers and their families participated.¹ CHAP.
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1761.

At ten o'clock, on the morning of the ninth, the firing of two cannon summoned the Indians to the council. There being no house in the settlement sufficiently large to accommodate all of the assemblage, seats were prepared in the open air. Indeed, the number of tribes represented was much larger than any one had anticipated. The Hurons, the Pottawatamies, the Wyandots, the Chipewas, and the Ottawas were all present. Indians from regions far beyond the Superior also came, that, with their own eyes, they might behold the man, whose house was the fire place of the dreaded Iroquois. Nor was the assemblage confined solely to the western tribes; numbers of the Shawanese, Delawares, and other Indians from the Ohio were there as spectators. As soon as they were all seated, Sir William Johnson, accompanied by Captain Campbell, Mr. Croghan, Lieutenant Johnson and the officers of the garrison—all in full uniform—walked to the council and took their places. Then amid a profound silence, the Baronet arose, and delivered his speech with all that dignity of mein which is so pleasing to the Indian. The chief topics adverted to in the address were, the recent conspiracy and the desire of the English to cultivate, through an honest trade, amicable relations with the western tribes. In alluding to the former, Sir William thanked the Hurons and Wyandots for their good will, as shown by their revealing the plot to Captain Campbell, and hoped they would ever continue the steadfast friends of the English. As soon as he had ended, the council, according to Indian ceremonial, broke up for the day. Late in the afternoon,

¹ "They assembled at about eight o'clock at night to the number of about twenty. I opened the ball with Mademoiselle Curie, a fine girl; we danced until five o'clock next morning"—*Private Diary, Manuscript before quoted.*

CHAP. a number of Huron chiefs waited upon Sir William at his
VII. quarters, and stated that as some of the chiefs might take
1761. to drinking if they loitered long around the fort, they would
be glad if he would receive their answer the following day.
To this very sensible proposition, the Baronet readily
acceded ; and having informed them that the usual signal
would be given the next afternoon by the firing of two
cannon, they were dismissed with the usual presents of
pipes and tobacco.

“The answer of the Nations,” says the Baronet, “was
very satisfactory ; and at its close, Kaiaghshota, a Seneca
chief, and one who had accompanied the two messengers
to the Wyandots, arose, and with consummate eloquence
and resolution, endeavored to clear himself of the charge
that had been laid to his nation. In the midst of his speech,
however, Adariaghta, the chief warrior of the Hurons,
coming forward, confronted him, and disclosing everything
that had occurred, revealed to all present the Seneca’s
duplicity. Upon this, the White Mingo, an Ohio Indian,
retorted by accusing the Huron of endeavoring to incite
the Ohio Indians to a general massacre of the garrisons ;
and the altercation would probably have ended in blows,
had not Sir William broken up the meeting, by announcing
that, upon the ensuing day, he would distribute the presents
which he had brought for them all.

The instructions, which the Baronet gave to the officers
of the different posts, were eminently judicious. Each
officer was admonished to keep up a good understanding
with all the Indian nations, but especially with those residing
near his post, or coming thither on business. They were
also to keep a strict watch, that no injustice was done to
the Indians either in trade or otherwise ; and all but strictly
necessary intercourse between the garrison and the savages
was expressly forbidden. The better to conciliate the
French inhabitants, interpreters were to be chosen from
among that class. They were, moreover, enjoined to keep
up a lively correspondence with the officers of the principal

posts, especially with the commandant at Detroit—"which," ^{CHAP. VII.} say the instructions, "will enable him to act uniformly, and have good intelligence and knowledge of the dis- ^{1761.} position of those Indians in whose neighborhood they are posted." In order, also, to prevent abuses in trade, no traders were to be allowed to go to any nation north or west of Detroit, except where there was a garrison; and the commandant of each post was to see that every trader, before he was permitted to trade, had a passport either from the superintendent or his deputy, sealed with the Baronet's coat of arms. If these directions were strictly followed, Sir William hoped that those annoyances to which both garrisons and Indians had hitherto been subjected would be removed.

Several more days were occupied in holding informal meetings with different nations, each of whom had some peculiar favor to ask from the Baronet; and on the afternoon of the seventeenth, the latter reëmbarked upon his homeward journey. Before his departure, that he might reciprocate the many civilities which he had received during his visit at Detroit, he gave a grand dinner to the inhabitants, closing the entertainment with a large ball in honor of the wives and daughters of the officers. On his return, Sir William halted a day at Sandusky to examine the proposed site for the blockhouse; and as there was a direct road from this place to Presque Isle, Mr. Croghan was dispatched to Colonel Bouquet with instructions for the traders at Fort Pitt. At Niagara, which was reached the fifth of October, he was confined several days to his bed by his old wound, but was soon able to proceed by easy stages to Fort Johnson, where he arrived upon the thirtieth of October, as appears by the last entry in his diary:

"*Friday, 30th.* Fine morning, but smart white frost. Set off at eight o'clock. Dined at Hannis Ecils, and arrived at my house about half after seven at night, where I found all my family well; and so ended my tour—*Gloria Deo soli.*"

The result of the journey was satisfactory. "The west-

CHAP. VII. ern Confederacy of Indians," wrote Sir William, "seem
entirely disposed to favor the English; and will not, in my
1761. opinion, unless provoked, be ever persuaded to break the
peace which I have made with them."¹

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to Lieutenant Governor Colden, 6th November, 1761.

CHAPTER VIII.

1761—1762.

It will be recollected that on the death of Mr. De Lancey, ^{CHAP. VIII.} the government had devolved upon Cadwallader Colden, as president of the council, until the wishes of the ministry could be ascertained. ^{1761.} Shortly after his first speech to the assembly, on the twenty-second of October, 1760, news arrived of the death of George the Second, and the accession of his grandson; and as it was the unanimous opinion of the Provincial council that the demise of the king dissolved the assembly, writs were issued for a new one, returnable upon the third of March. Meanwhile, various were the conjectures respecting the name of the future governor. At one time rumor gave the gubernatorial chair to General Gage; again, the public were confident that Pownal would be the fortunate man; some few suggested Colden, and others General Monckton. All surmises were at length set at rest. Pownal received the governorship of Jamaica;¹ Gage remained at Montreal; and Colden, having been appointed lieutenant governor, announced to the assembly, on the second of September, that his majesty had been pleased "to distinguish the

¹ "I forgot to acquaint you of an affair of your old acquaintance, Mr. Pownal. He was appointed governor of Jamaica; then courted a lady of fortune in England, flattered himself of success, gave up his governorship of Jamaica on account of the nuptials. Upon a more intimate acquaintance with the lady, she one day frankly told him he had a *positiveness* in his temper which she could not bear with, and would certainly make her unhappy. She therefore would not further admit of his addresses. Upon which he applied for his government again, but it was given away, so now he has gone as secretary to one of our ambassadors."—*Manuscript letter; William Corey to Sir Wm. Johnson.*

CHAP. services of Major General Monckton, by constituting him
 VIII. his captain general and governor in chief of the province.”
 1761.

The administration of Doctor Colden during the interregnum, was marked by no event of special moment; and the intercourse between himself and his assembly—if we except a slight opposition against a theatre which he had allowed to be established—was of the most amicable character. But this calm was destined to be of short duration; for shortly after receiving his commission of lieutenant governor, he was instrumental in an act which set not only the assembly, but the whole province in a blaze. As by the death of Mr. De Lancey, the seat of chief justice had become vacant, a general wish was expressed by the community, that the vacancy should at once be filled. The three remaining judges, Horsmanden, Chambers and Jones, having doubts as to their ability to issue processes under their old commissions since the death of the king, likewise urged the lieutenant governor to appoint a successor without delay. Colden, however, was more concerned for his own and his family's advancement, than for the welfare of the colony. In the same letter in which he announced to the lords of trade the death of De Lancey, he had recommended his eldest son for the seat at the council board, made vacant by the lieutenant governor's death; and in the same fawning spirit, he now desired the earl of Halifax, the colonial secretary of state, to nominate a chief justice. The result was, not only the nomination, but the actual appointment of Benjamin Pratt, a Boston lawyer, to the seat, not, as had been usual before the death of his late majesty, during good behavior, but “at the pleasure of the king.”

The appointment, in this manner and at this time, was peculiarly unfortunate. The sister colony of Massachusetts was just now writhing under the “writs of assistance, which the British ministry had so recklessly determined to force upon the colonies. These writs had been requested by the custom house officers, to enable them the better to

enforce the revenue. They were in effect search warrants, and whoever held them, might, with impunity, break open a citizen's house, and violate the sanctity of his dwelling. The inhabitants were justly incensed at this exercise of arbitrary power, and the more so, as they saw no disposition, on the part of those in authority, to resist this infringement upon their liberties. Bernard, the governor of Massachusetts, scrupled not to become the tool of the earl of Egremont, Pitt's successor, and boldly declared himself in favor of adopting the odious plan of the crown for increasing the revenue. Hutchinson, the chief justice of the province, was equally subservient to the royal authority. An opportunity, however, soon came, in which the temper of the people found vent. A petition having been presented to the superior court by the officers of the customs, that "writs of assistance" might ensue, the question was argued at length in February, before the chief justice and his four associate justices. Jeremiah Gridley, on behalf of the crown, argued for the legality of the writ, on the ground, that as the writ was allowed to the revenue officers in England, to refuse the same powers to the colonial officers, would be to deny that "the parliament of Great Britain is the sovereign legislature of the British empire."

The fearless and impulsive James Otis, who had resigned his office of advocate general, that untrammelled he might argue this case against the crown, appeared for the people of Boston. "These writs," he exclaimed, "are the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law." With impassioned eloquence, he showed to the court the nature of these writs. "In the first place," said he, "the writ is universal, being directed to all and singular justices, sheriffs, constables, and all other officers and subjects; so that, in short, it is directed to every subject in the king's dominions. Every one with this writ may be a tyrant; if this commission be legal, a tyrant in a legal manner also may control, imprison, or murder any one within the realm."

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1761. In the next place it is perpetual; there is no return. A man is accountable to no person for his doings. Every man may reign secure in his petty tyranny, and spread terror and desolation around him, until the trump of the archangel shall excite different emotions in his soul. In the third place, a person with this writ, in the day time, may enter all houses, shops, &c., at will, and command all to assist him. Fourthly, by this writ not only deputies, but even their menial servants, are allowed to lord it over us. What is this but to have the curse of Canaan with a witness on us; to be the servant of servants, the most despicable of God's creation? Now one of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle; and whilst he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it should be declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Custom house officers may enter our houses when they please; we are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial servants may enter, may break locks, bars, and everything in their way; and whether they break through malice or revenge, no man, no court can inquire. Bare suspicion without oath is sufficient. * * * Thus reason and the constitution are both against this writ. Let us see what authority there is for it. Not more than one instance can be found of it in all our law books; and that was in the zenith of arbitrary power, viz: in the reign of Charles II, when star chamber powers were pushed to extremity by some ignorant clerk of the exchequer. But had this writ been in any book whatever, it would have been illegal; and," continued he, "I am determined to sacrifice estate, ease, health, applause, and even life, to the sacred calls of my country in opposition to a kind of power which cost one king of England his head and another his throne; and to my dying day I will oppose, with all the power and faculties that God has given me, all such instruments of slavery on the one hand, and villainy on the other."

The opinion of the court was given at the close of the

term by the subservient Hutchinson. "The court," said CHAP. VIII. he, "has considered the subject of writs of assistance, and can see no foundation for such a writ; but as the practice 1761. in England is not known, it has been thought best to continue the question to the next term, that in the meantime opportunity may be given to know the result." At the next term, the writ of assistance was granted,¹ but such was the feeling of the people, that the custom house officers, although having the writs in their pockets, dared not in a single instance carry them into execution. But although the arguments of Otis failed to procure a decision in favor of the people, yet they did not die within the walls of the court house. Caught up by his hearers, they were borne, as if on the wind, throughout the length and breadth of the land. "I do say in the most solemn manner," writes Mr. Adams, "that Mr. Otis's oration against writs of assistance, breathed into this nation the breath of life."

With these stirring appeals of James Otis ringing in their ears, it may readily be supposed, that the people of New York were in no mood for this farther encroachment upon their liberties. "To make the king's will," said they, "the term of office, is to make the bench of judges the instrument of the royal prerogative. Chambers, Horsmanden and Jones, refused to act longer, unless they could hold their commissions during good behavior. Champions at once arose to do battle for the people. Conspicuous among these were William Livingston, John Morin Scott and William Smith, all prominent lawyers, and vigorous thinkers and writers; and they protested, through the public prints, against this attempt to render the judiciary dependent upon the crown. Nor were their efforts entirely fruitless; for in the answer of the assembly, on the seventeenth of December, to the request of Doctor Colden that the usual salary of three hundred pounds to the chief justice might be increased, it was resolved, "that as the salaries usually allowed for the judges of the supreme court

¹ Minot—who gives as his authority the supreme court records.

CHAP. have been, and still appear to be sufficient to engage gentle-
 VIII. men of the first figure both as to capacity and fortune in
 1761. this colony, to accept of these offices, it would be highly
 improper to augment the salary of chief justice on this
 occasion;" nor would they allow even this, unless the
 commissioners of the chief justice and the other judges
 were granted during good behavior. To this, Colden
 refused to accede; and Chief Justice Pratt, having served
 several terms without a salary, was finally reimbursed out
 of his majesty's quit rents of the province.¹

Thus were the people of New York slowly following in
 the wake of their Puritan neighbors. Colden, himself, as
 if he had some glimmerings of the future, began to doubt
 the result. "For some years past," he wrote to the board
 of trade, "three popular lawyers, educated in Connecticut,
 who have strongly imbibed the independent principles of
 that country, calumniate the administration in every exer-
 cise of the prerogative, and get the applause of the mob
 by propagating the doctrine that all authority is derived
 from the people."

An act, which was passed during the winter session,
 deserves a passing notice from the agency that Sir William
 Johnson had in it. The act, to which allusion is here
 made, was "for the more effectual collecting of his majes-
 ty's quit rents in the colony of New York; and for par-
 tition of lands in order thereto." This latter clause was
 chiefly designed, by the originators of the bill, for the par-
 tition of those lands that had remained long uncultivated,
 on account of the difficulties and expense to which the
 patentees or their assigns had been subject in making par-
 tition among themselves according to the tedious forms of
 the common law. The "uncultivated lands" referred prin-
 cipally to those immense tracts of land granted before the
 year 1708,—of which the vast patent of the Kaiaderaseras
 furnishes an illustration. As the exact quantity of land
 granted, was not generally mentioned in these grants, and

¹ Colden to the lords of trade, 8th July, 1763.

the boundaries were consequently in many cases uncertain, ^{CHAP. VIII.} it was considered by the crown lawyers that the grants were void in law; and Governor Monekton, in his forty- ^{1761.} sixth instruction, had been directed to annul by every legitimate method, all "such exorbitant, irregular and unconditional grants." But insuperable difficulties, it was at once perceived, would arise, should this instruction be carried into execution, as many of the patentees were persons of great wealth and influence in the Province, who would resort to every method in their power to circumvent the efforts of the governor. Owing, moreover, to the indefiniteness of the boundaries, the patentees had largely infringed upon the king's lands, or in other words, the land owned and occupied by the Indians. This, as we have seen, was the source of numerous contentions between the whites and the Indians, especially the Mohawks; and Sir William Johnson, after his return from Detroit, held a correspondence with Lieutenant Governor Colden upon the subject; suggesting that the only way in which these disputes could be permanently settled, would be to have the lands thoroughly and accurately surveyed by the king's surveyor general, with correct instruments, from whose survey there could be no appeal. "Let the survey," wrote Johnson, "be done in the most plain and intelligible manner, so that every patent or tract, with the patentees' names, the quantity of each, and the year patented, may easily be known." In consequence of these suggestions, the lieutenant governor had a clause inserted in the act under consideration, "whereby the outlines of every tract were to be run by the king's surveyor general of the lands before partition was made." By this clause, two ends were accomplished: first, the king's lands were guarded against the farther encroachments of the patentees; and secondly, the ill feelings of the Indians were in a great measure removed.

Although hostilities had ceased in the American provinces, the war was not yet ended. Spain had long watched with

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1761. jealousy the English settlements in the Bay of Honduras, and regarding the present time as favorable for redressing these grievances, formed a secret alliance with France. Before Pitt resigned his office, he had shown to the king and his ministers the hostile intentions of the Spanish cabinet, and strongly urged the withdrawal of the British minister from Madrid, and a declaration of war against Spain. But the English cabinet, blinded by the solemn avowal of the Spanish minister of his pacific intentions, heeded not this wise counsel; and while Egremont and Bute were congratulating the king upon the near prospect of peace, Spain had declared war. In this emergency, the British cabinet, confident in the strength of their resources, which under the administration of the great commoner had been rendered so effective, determined to strike a blow at the French and Spanish possessions in the West Indies; and while a powerful armament was fitting out at home for the capture of Havana, the troops in America received orders to sail against Martinico.

The charge of this latter expedition was entrusted to Brigadier General Monckton, who, preferring the excitement of arms to the cares and troubles of office, had requested and obtained the command. Accordingly, having produced his commission to the council and taken the oaths of office, he sailed from New York on the last day of November, 1761, leaving the government in the hands of Doctor Colden. The forces placed under his command consisted of two ships of the line, the *Alcide* and *Devonshire*, and a hundred sail carrying twelve thousand regulars and provincial troops. General Lyman, the second in command of the forces at Lake George in 1755, commanded the Provincials, seventeen hundred and eighty-seven of whom had been raised by New York. Gates and Montgomery, both of whom were destined to become so distinguished in later years—the one by his victory over Burgoyne, and the other by his glorious death at Quebec—accompanied the expedition. The fleet appeared off

Martinico on the seventh of January, and though the most valuable of the French possessions in the new world, and strongly fortified by nature and art, yet on the fourteenth of February, the French governor, M. de la Touche, surrendered the entire island to Monekton. Grenada, St. Vincent's, and St. Lucia were each in turn occupied by the British; and while Gage, in hopes of promotion, sailed for England as the bearer of dispatches, Monekton returned to New York to resume his government, and receive the plaudits of a delighted people.

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Although the attention of Sir William Johnson had been almost exclusively directed during the war to the interests of the public welfare,—often indeed to the detriment of his private fortune—yet his spare moments were devoted to the management of his personal concerns, and the improvement of those lands of which he had become the possessor. With a view of encouraging settlements, he had sold to industrious persons lots upon the most reasonable terms; so that, since the beginning of the war, he had located upon the north side of the Mohawk over one hundred families; which settlement became in later years the flourishing village of Johnstown. As an additional inducement to settlers, he gave the Lutherans and Calvinists, in March, fifty acres of land each, upon which to erect a parsonage, should they so desire.¹ Previous to his journey to Detroit, he erected an elegant summer villa on the north-western edge of the great Vlaie, in the present town of Broadalbin, conferring upon it the name of Castle Cumberland, in honor of the vanquisher of the Pretender.² At

¹ “Manuscript agreement between the Lutherans and Calvinists relative to the church land—March 2d, 1762.”

² In the early part of the revolution, Castle Cumberland was fortified, under the impression that the enemy from the north might possibly attack that point by water. “Part of a regiment of continental troops under Colonel Nicholson was stationed here much of the summer of 1776. An intrenchment six feet wide, and several feet deep, was cut across the eastern end of the point. The point as a military post was abandoned at the end of the

CHAP. VIII. the same time, he built a rustic lodge on the south bank
 1762. of the Sacandaga, four miles west of Castle Cumberland, which afterward was called the Fish House, from the fact of his resorting thither, in the latter part of his life, to seek recreation in the pleasures of angling, of which he was passionately fond. He also took great delight in horticulture and fine stock, having, indeed, been the first one to introduce sheep and blood horses into the valley of the Mohawk.¹ There is scarcely a letter of his to his agent, Sir William Baker, in London, that does not contain orders for various choice seeds; while his correspondence with the "Society for the Promotion of Arts," of which he was a valued member, is full of judicious and valuable information upon the science of agriculture. It may readily be supposed, therefore, that the interval of leisure which the close of hostilities allowed, was eagerly seized by him to gratify this favorite taste. "If you wish to see good husbandry," he wrote, in the spring, jocularly to a friend, "you must come up here and make me a visit."

But this playing spell was to be of not long duration. The public interests again demanded his attention. It was now more than a year, since he had received from the king the order to examine into the complaints of the Delawares against the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, for defrauding them of their lands. The Baronet, it will be recollected, was ready at the time to obey the wishes of the king, and had so written Teedeyuscung; but it had then been put off by that chief, and since then, he had been occupied with other matters. Now, however, he wrote in April to Governor Hamilton and the Delaware king, appointing a meeting for this purpose at Easton, on the fifteenth of June.

summer."—*Simms*. Both Castle Cumberland and the Fish House were burned in the Revolution, in 1781.

¹ "Before I set the example, no farmer on the Mohawk river ever raised so much as a single load of hay; at present, some raise above one hundred. The like was the case with regard to sheep, to which they were entire strangers, until I introduced them." Manuscript letter; Johnson to the "Society for the improvement and promotion of Arts," 27th February, 1765.

Meantime, the Six Nations were invited to Fort Johnson to hear the result of his mission to Detroit, and to have the opportunity, which they had so long desired, of laying their complaints before the superintendent. Another object that the latter had in view in calling this meeting, was, to thoroughly investigate the truth of those reports which had met him everywhere on his western journey of the disaffection of the Senecas, and their efforts to excite a revolt among the western and northern tribes. Of the details of this council, with the exception that there were four hundred Indians present, nothing has been preserved, either in manuscript or in print. All that I have been able to find upon the subject, is contained in a letter from Sir William Johnson to the lords of trade, written some months after the meeting. CHAP. VIII.
1762.

From this letter, it would appear that the Indians came to the council in no very amiable frame of mind. Always tenacious of their liberties, they looked with ill-concealed distrust upon the growing power of the English; and regarding with jealousy the numerous forts which were springing up in every direction, they saw in them only a design to check their growth, and eventually hem them completely in. The treatment, moreover, which they were constantly receiving from the English—so different from that which the French had ever used toward the neighboring nations—was another source of grievance. The presents which during the war had been so freely lavished upon them, were now suddenly withheld; and it was in reference more especially to this latter source of irritation, that in this same letter Sir William writes: “I am very apprehensive that we, who always fell greatly short of the enemy in presents and kindnesses to them, may become too premature in a sudden retrenchment of some yet necessary expenses, which, on due consideration, I flatter myself your lordships will be of opinion they should be gradually weaned from, and that by a prudent conduct and due distribution of some little favors to them for a time, we may

CHAP. effect without much trouble, what we should find no small
 VIII. difficulty in compassing by force, namely, a quiet posses-
 1762. sion of our distant posts, and an increase of settlements on
 the back parts of the country, so as within a few years to
 have a well settled frontier, in itself strong enough to repel
 any sudden attempt from the Indians.

"I have likewise made," continues the Baronet, "the best use I could, of his majesty's late instructions to his governor of this province concerning the Indian lands, thereby to convince them of his royal intentions to do them justice. As this was a subject which had created much jealousy and uneasiness, what I said thereon afforded them a general satisfaction, except the Mohocks, who still remain very discontented on account of the lands which, they allege, they have been unjustly deprived of, that is to say;—a large tract of several hundred thousand acres of land called *Kaidarasseras*, alias Queensborough, patented in the year 1708, and as yet undivided and unsettled, comprehending a great part of the country lying between the Mohock and Hudson's river; also the Low Lands called the Mohock Flatts, or planting grounds, whereon they live, claimed by the corporation of Albany; also their lands at Canajoharie called the Upper Mohock castle or village, which complaints of theirs, I formerly laid before your lordships, and as they frequently solicit me for an answer, I hope to be honored with your lordships' sentiments thereon." ¹

Meagre, however, as are these details, the general result, so far as regarded the Senecas, was encouraging: "I have had a general meeting with all the Six Nations," wrote Johnson to Amherst soon after the council, "when the Senecas very satisfactorily accounted for the reports concerning them, and declared in the warmest terms their intention to preserve and cultivate the peace subsisting between us." ¹

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to the lords of trade, 20th August, 1762.

² Manuscript letter; Johnson to Amherst, 29th April, 1762

The Baronet set out for the treaty at Easton, the latter part of May, accompanied by Witham Marsh, who had been appointed by the crown secretary of Indian affairs, in the room of Peter Wraxall, who had died in the summer of 1759. At the beginning of the treaty, the Quakers showed a disposition to interfere, trying their best to prevail on the Delawares to insist as a preliminary to all negotiation, that the troops should be removed from Fort (Shamoken) Augusta, and that it should be converted into a trading post or store. The dignity and tact of the superintendent, however, soon silenced them, and he was left to proceed in his own way. The council continued several days, and its results were even more successful than had been anticipated. The disputes between the Proprietaries and Teedeyuseung were, in the main, adjusted, and a firm treaty with the Delawares consummated.

This was, however, the last council that the ill fated Delaware king ever attended. It has already been seen that at the great council held at Easton, in 1758, the Six Nations had observed with no very cordial feelings, the important position which Teedeyuseung had attained in the opinion of the whites, by the force of his talents and the energy of his character; and this last visit of Sir William's was not calculated to allay this jealousy. Long accustomed to view the Delawares and their derivative tribes as their *subjects*, the haughty Mengues could not brook this advancement of a supposed inferior, and the reflection had been rankling in their bosoms ever since the meeting of the former council, until it was determined to cut off the object of their hate. For this purpose, in October, 1763, a party of warriors from the Six Nations came to the valley of Wyoming upon a pretended visit of friendship, and after lingering about for several days, they in the night time treacherously set fire to the house of the unsuspecting chief, which, with the veteran himself, was burnt to ashes. The wickedness of this deed of darkness was heightened by an act of still greater atrocity. They charged the assassina-

CHAP. VIII.
 1762. tion upon the white settlers of Connecticut, and had the address to inspire the Delawares with such a belief. The consequences may readily be anticipated. Teedeyuscung was greatly beloved by his people, and their exasperation at "the deep damnation of his taking off," was kindled to a degree of corresponding intensity.

The white settlers, however, being entirely innocent of the transaction,—utterly unconscious that it had been imputed to them,—were equally unconscious of the storm that was so suddenly to break upon their heads. Their intercourse with the Indians, during the preceding year, had been so entirely friendly that they had not even provided themselves with weapons of defence; and although there had been some slight manifestations of jealousy at their onward progress, among the Indians, yet their pacific relations, thus far, had not been interrupted. But they were now reposing in false security. Stimulated to revenge by the representations of their false and insidious visitors, the Delawares, on the fourteenth of October, rose upon the settlement, and massacred about thirty of the people in cold blood, at noon day, while engaged in the labors of the field. Those who escaped ran to the adjacent plantations, to apprise them of what had happened, and were the swift messengers of the painful intelligence to the houses of the settlement, and the families of the slain. It was an hour of sad consternation. Having no arms even for self-defence, the people were compelled at once to seize upon such few of their effects as they could carry upon their shoulders, and flee to the mountains. As they turned back during their ascent to steal an occasional glance at the beautiful valley below, they beheld the savages driving their cattle away to their own towns, and plundering their houses of the goods that had been left. At nightfall the torch was applied, and the darkness that hung over the vale was illuminated by the lurid flames of their own dwellings—the abodes of happiness and peace in the morning. Hapless indeed was the condition of the fugitives. Their

number amounted to several hundred—men, women and children—the infant at the breast—the happy wife a few brief hours before—now a widow in the midst of a group of orphans. The supplies, both of provisions and clothing, which they had seized in the moment of their flight, were altogether inadequate to their wants. The chill winds of autumn were howling with melancholy wail among the mountain pines, through which, over rivers and glens, and fearful morasses, they were to thread their way sixty miles, to the nearest settlements on the Delaware, and thence back to their friends in Connecticut, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles. Notwithstanding the hardships they were compelled to encounter, and the deprivations under which they labored, many of them accomplished the journey in safety, while many others, lost in the mazes of the swamps, were never heard of more.

Thus fell Teedeyuscung, who, with all his faults, was one of the noblest of his race,—and thus was his death avenged upon the innocent.

Upon his return from Pennsylvania, the Baronet tarried a few days in New York, that he might again take his oath as one of his majesty's council,—a form, which, the death of the late king rendered necessary. Having taken the oath, and held a personal consultation with General Amherst in relation to the general conduct of Indian affairs, he returned to Fort Johnson the last of July, in time to celebrate the nuptials of his eldest daughter, Nancy, with Captain Claus.

The fleet destined against Havana, under the command of Admiral Pococke, consisted of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and one hundred and fifty transports; together with a land force of ten thousand men, commanded by the earl of Albemarle. On its arrival at Havana, it was increased by four ships conveying a reinforcement of four thousand Provincials, chiefly from the colonies of New England and New York. Owing, however, to the change of climate, this latter force, when it

CHAP. VIII. joined the fleet, was reduced by sickness to but three thousand effective men.

1762. The harbor of Havana was defended by two fortresses of immense strength,—Moro and Puntal—commanding, respectively, the east and west side of the channel. The British forces having landed and invested castle Moro, a terrific fire was opened upon that fortress, which continued without intermission for twenty-nine days. The garrison consisted of five thousand marines and sailors, and during the siege, it was farther increased by fifteen hundred fresh troops from St. Iago. “The sallies,” says a writer of that day, “were made by the sailors, who behaved well but were always beat.” On the morning of the thirtieth of July, two mines were sprung under the fortress, and although the breach, thus effected, was scarcely large enough to admit more than one man at a time, yet the troops received orders to storm the castle. Had the assault been expected by the garrison, the siege would doubtless have been prolonged a much longer time. “One hundred men,” writes a cotemporary to Sir William Johnson, “would have kept out the whole army.” But the English entered at noon day, and the Spaniards, entirely off their guard, made little or no resistance.

The Spanish governor, although his loss was over a thousand men, was still unwilling to yield; but Albemarle having turned his guns against the town, he demanded terms of capitulation, and on the twelfth of August, surrendered the city, and all the ships in the harbor, to the crown of Great Britain. Although vast quantities of coin had been sent for safety to St. Iago, yet the booty was immense, and included, besides ten millions of dollars, twelve seventy and sixty-gun ships, two sail of the line, and one frigate on the stocks. But this brilliant victory was not without cost. Twelve hundred of England’s yeomanry were either killed or wounded; while seven hundred more, falling victims to the distemper, never again heard from the lips of kindred the joyful “welcome home.”

Returning again to the progress of events in the Mohawk valley, different scenes demand our attention. Late in the night of the thirty-first of July, Sir William Johnson was roused from his slumbers, by the startling intelligence that the Indians had risen upon the settlers of the upper valley, and were burning and ravaging the whole country. Additional color was, moreover, given to this news, as there had been quite a serious disturbance between the garrison of Fort Schnyler and the Oneidas, but a few weeks previously. Hastily collecting all the militia and Mohawks he could muster, the Baronet set out the same night for the scene of the trouble, and arrived at the house of Mr. Fry near Canajoharie at daybreak. From this point he wrote to General Amherst and the commanding officer at Albany for reinforcements, and ordered all the militia from the surrounding country to rendezvous at Canajoharie. In the meantime scouts were dispatched in different directions for farther information. Happily, however, they soon returned with the welcome news that it was a false alarm. It seems that an Indian, maddened by liquor, having stripped off his clothes, swam the Mohawk, and rushed into a house near at hand, terrifying two little girls, who were alone at the time, their parents being absent. The children in the wildest fright ran out of the house, and meeting some men who were mowing in a neighboring field, told them that there were a number of naked Indians in the house armed with tomahawks and guns. The men stopped not to question the children, but throwing down their scythes, swam the river, and fled in terror to the settlement on the other side, telling every one they met that the savages had broken loose. By the time they reached the settlement, the number of Indians, in their excited state, had increased to several hundred. The entire settlement took the alarm, and while the inhabitants were flying down the valley in the wildest panic, the Indian in a drunken stupor, lay snoring on the kitchen hearth, utterly unconscious of the disturbance he had created. The fright

CHAP. of the settlers from so trivial a cause, may at first appear
 VIII. } ludicrous, but when it is recollected that but a short time
 1762. had passed since the horrid massacres of the German Flats and Burnetsfield, and that these bloody scenes were still vividly before their minds, the disposition to smile ceases. When the cause of the alarm was known, tranquility was restored; and thus what might have proved a serious outbreak, turned out to be nothing more than the drunken frolic of a harmless and unarmed Indian.¹

The Baronet did not immediately return. Dismissing the militia to their homes, and countermanding his orders for reinforcements, he continued his journey to Seneca, where he held a meeting with upward of twenty-four hundred Indians. The political results of the meeting were of but little importance, it having been chiefly devoted to the interchange of friendly feeling. At Seneca he was laid up for several days by illness. This delayed his return, so that it was not until the middle of August that he arrived at Fort Johnson.

I have dwelt more particularly upon the occasion of this journey, because—this alarm being only one of many similar instances—it gives us an insight into the duties which were constantly devolving upon the Baronet in his office of superintendent. By the conquest of Canada, all the Indian nations from the farthest limits of Nova Scotia to the waters of the Superior and Illinois, had come directly under his supervision; and while he was thus obliged to keep up a constant—almost daily correspondence with his deputies at Fort Pitt, Detroit and Montreal,² he did not

¹ Of a similar character was the incident that occurred at Goshen, Orange county, in the summer of 1763. A party of four or five hunters, out after partridges, having raised a large flock, fired at the same moment. The inhabitants in the vicinity were at that time in constant fear of Indian incursions, and inferring from the report of the guns that the Indians were upon them, fled in great terror, communicating their panic to all whom they met. Before the true cause of the firing was ascertained, more than five hundred families fled across the Hudson into New England.

² Sir William Johnson had now three deputies—George Croghan, stationed at Fort Pitt, for the Ohio and its dependencies; Captain Daniel Claus, at

allow himself any relaxation in his care of the Six Nations, whose extremely sensitive and jealous natures, required as much attention as ever. CHAP.
VIII.
1762.

The remainder of the summer and fall was occupied by Sir William in preparing the timber for the commodious mansion which he built the following spring, one mile west of his new settlement—conferring upon it when completed the name of Johnson Hall—and into which he proposed removing for the farther encouragement of the settlers.¹ His time was also much taken up in various plans for the education of his Indian neighbors—especially the Mohawks; and his exertions to improve the moral and social condition of the latter, which have already been alluded to in a former portion of this work still continued. Having aided in the building of churches and locating missionaries among them, he selected, at the request of the Rev. Mr. Kirkland and others, numbers of young Mohawks, and sent them to the Moor Charity School, established at Lebanon, Connecticut, under the immediate direction of the Rev. Doctor Eleazer Wheelock, afterward president of Dartmouth college, of which, by its transfer, that school became the foundation. It was in reference to this school that, shortly after his return from Detroit, he addressed the following letter to Doctor Wheelock:

FORT JOHNSON, Nov. 17, 1761.

“Reverend Sir:

“Yours of the second instant I had a few days ago the pleasure of receiving by the hands of Kirkland. I am pleased to find the lads I sent, have merited your good opinion of them. I have given it in charge to Joseph to speak in my name to any good boys he may see, and encourage them to accept the generous offer now made them, which

Montreal, for Canada; and Lieutenant Guy Johnson, for the Six Nations and the neighboring Indians. The one at Detroit was, perhaps, more properly an assistant

¹ Manuscript letter: Sir William Johnson to Sir William Baker, 4th Dec., 1762. For an engraving and a short account of Johnson Hall, see appendix No. v.

CHAP. he promises to do and return as soon as possible. In case
 VIII. there should not a sufficient number go now, I will on
 1762. the return of the Indians from hunting, advise them to
 send as many as is required. I expect they will return,
 and hope they will make progress in the English lan-
 guage and their learning, as may prove to your satisfac-
 tion and the benefit of the Indians, who are really much
 to be pitied. My absence these four months has prevented
 my design of encouraging some more lads going to you;
 and since my return, which is but lately, I have not had an
 opportunity of seeing old or young, being all on their
 hunt. When they come back, I shall talk with, and advise
 their parents to embrace this favorable opportunity of
 having their children instructed, and doubt not of their
 readiness to lay hold of so kind and charitable an affair.

“Kirkland’s intention of learning the Mohawk language
 I must approve of, as after acquiring it he could be of vast
 service to them as a clergyman, which they much want and
 are very desirous of having.

“The present laudable design of instructing a number
 of Indian boys, will, I doubt not, when more known, lead
 several gentlemen to contribute towards it, and enable you
 thereby to increase the number of scholars, with whom I
 shall not be backward to contribute my mite. * * *

“I wish you all success in this undertaking, and am with
 truth and sincerity,

“Reverend Sir,

“Your most humble serv’t.,

“WM. JOHNSON.”¹

Joseph, who is mentioned in this letter, was no other
 than the celebrated Thayendanegea, of revolutionary fame.
 He was a special protégé of Sir William, and had accom-
 panied him in all of his military expeditions, having con-
 ducted himself during the siege of Niagara with distin-
 guished bravery. The interest which the Baronet took in
 his education, is fully shown by the letters of his teacher,

¹ Manuscript letter.

Dr. Wheelock, under whose tuition the Baronet had placed him. “Joseph and the rest of the boys are well, studious and dilligent”—“Joseph and the other boys behave very well”—“Joseph is indeed an excellent youth”—and numerous other similar allusions are of constant occurrence.¹ He was moreover, at this time in communication with Rev. Mr. Graves, of New London, Rev. Dr. Pomeroy, of New Haven, and other kindred spirits, in relation to the feasibility of establishing schools among the Indians; and at his own expense, he stationed a schoolmaster at the Tuscarora castle, who was in the habit of giving him from time to time accounts of the progress of his pupils. We also find the Baronet, during the fall, busily engaged in preparing a new edition of the prayer book in the Mohawk language. In revising the manuscripts for the press, he was greatly aided by his son-in-law, Captain Claus, who, as well as Sir William, thoroughly understood the Mohawk tongue. The Rev. Mr. Barelay, who, it will be remembered, had left his mission station among the Mohawks, to assume the charge of Trinity church in New York, was also deeply interested in the project, and gave valuable assistance. “I now, therefore,” wrote the Baronet to him under date of October sixteenth, 1762, “herewith transmit you the old edition which, as it wanted the singing psalms, therefore I send such in manuscript as I have been able to procure, together with the common service and public baptism of infants, which they are desirous to have inserted, as also some prayers, of the propriety of which you are the most proper judge.” An edition of four hundred copies was ordered in the same letter, twenty of which were to be printed on fine paper and bound in gilt, and were designed as presents for the principal chiefs.

In these praiseworthy efforts for the improvement of the Indians, the year passed away. “We have nothing new here,” wrote Sir William Johnson to George Croghan, “and all is peace and quietness.”

¹ Manuscript letters: Doctor Wheelock to Johnson during the fall of 1762.

CHAPTER IX.

1763.

CHAP. IX. The opening year found Sir William Johnson actively
1763. espousing the cause of the Mohawks and German settlers at Canajoharie, in their land controversy with Mr. William Livingston. The lands in dispute were known as the "planting grounds of the Mohawks," and were included in the old Livingston or Canajoharie patent, obtained by Philip Livingston, the father of William. This patent the Mohawks had long considered of no validity. It had originally been obtained by virtue of an old Indian deed, signed by five Indians of no influence; whereas in order to constitute it a valid conveyance, it was essential that the sachems of the whole nation should affix their signatures in full council. The tract of land thus conveyed had been, moreover, artfully increased by a surveyor by the name of Collins, who, one moonlight night, in 1733, went to Canajoharie and ran a course that included the land now in dispute.¹ At the congress in Albany, in 1754, the

¹ "This day appeared before me Sir William Johnson, Bart., one of his majesty's council for the province of New York, William Wormwood of Canajoharie, in the county of Albany, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth and sayeth that many years ago, Mr. Collins, surveyor, and Peter Waggoner came to the house of said Waggoner when the deponent there was, and then told the deponent that they had been up to survey the land at Canajoharie for Mr. Livingston, and that they had proceeded up the river during the night, which was moonlight, to a creek called Onaradaga on the west shore; that whilst David Schuyler and Peter Waggoner were asleep, the said Collins fixed his compass at the mouth of said creek and took a course up into the woods; that before day next morning said Collins waked David Schuyler and Peter Waggoner, who were surprised to see the compass fixed; that thereupon said Collins bid them make haste and embark in their canoe for fear the Indians should discover them as they would knock them on the head; that on embarking in a hurry, a bag with

Mohawks, through Hendrik, complained of the injustice of this patent, which they heard had been recently taken out; and William Alexander, (Lord Sterling) and William Livingston appeared, on that occasion, so well convinced of the justice of the claim, that they offered on the spot to relinquish all right and title to the land.¹ Many of the heirs of the original patentees, however, being minors, nothing definite was then arrived at. Meantime, the lands were settled by industrious Germans, who paid the Indians for their use an annual rent, either in corn or money.² Thus matters had remained for several years, until in the winter of 1762, the settlers were served with ejectments by the order of Mr. Livingston. Attorney General Kemp was employed by the governor and council on behalf of the Indians, and William Smith, jun., at the instance of the Baronet, was retained for the Germans.

While the ejectment suits were pending, the affair was

Waggoner's name on it, and an axe was left behind, which Waggoner was desired to go fetch, but Collins prevented it, saying, *that those who had got the land could easily afford to pay for them.*"—Extract from manuscript affidavit of Wm. Wormwood, sworn to before Sir William Johnson; also manuscript affidavit of David Schuyler taken before Sir William Johnson.

¹ "You are to know that in the year 1754, Billy Alexander and Billy Livingston, did in the presence of the commissioners of the several governments assembled then at Albany, offer to give up their title or claim to the land now in dispute, rather than it should be productive of any dispute, or give the Indians uneasiness. I was present at the time, so was old Mr. Smith and Mr. John Chambers as counsellors. The reason that there was nothing more done in it there, was, that several of the heirs were minors." Manuscript letter; Sir William Johnson to Mr. Corey.

² "As soon as the Indians discovered the affair [i. e. the moonlight survey by Collins] they publicly disavowed it, and that in such a manner as occasioned Mr. Livingston [Philip] to drop proceedings therein, perhaps to wait the dissolution of the Indians at that castle, for many years after, some of the first German settlers went to Mr. Livingston to know whether he would give them deeds, and divide the same, whom he put off, Mrs. Livingston saying to him, he must not pretend to attempt doing anything therein so long as any of the Indians were alive. On the Indians finding that the lands were settling they applied to the settlers for rent, who accordingly have ever since paid it to them in corn or otherwise, as they desire." Manuscript letter; Sir William Johnson to Wm. Smith, jr., 11th May, 1768.

CHAP. rendered still more complicated by the rascally conduct of
IX. one, George Klock—a German residing at Canajoharie—
1763. who owned a share in the patent, and acted as the agent of Mr. Livingston and the other claimants. The Mohawks having forwarded a statement of the fraudulent manner in which the lands had been obtained to the governor and his council, Klock invited several of the Canajoharies to his house, and having made them drunk, persuaded them to sign a declaration relinquishing their right to the lands in dispute, and acknowledging the legality of the original purchase. The declaration, obtained in this villainous manner, was thereupon sent to the governor, together with two new Indian deeds of the lands to Gelles Funda and Klock, obtained by the same base means.¹ Upon the reception of the declaration and deeds, Governor Monckton, with the advice of his council, forwarded a copy of each to Sir William, with the request that he would, as soon as convenient, convene the sachems and Indians of the Canajoharie castle, and having explained to them the purport of the declaration, ascertain their true sentiments in the most explicit manner. In order, moreover, that the proposed meeting might be conducted in the most solemn and impartial manner, he was farther directed to call as many justices of the peace for the county of Albany, as might be deemed advisable, who, with him, might hear the explanations of the Indians. This being done, a copy of the proceedings of the meeting was to be sent forthwith to the council. In pursuance of this order, the Baronet, through the newspapers, appointed the tenth day of March for the meeting at the Canajoharie castle, at the same time setting forth its object.

¹ "It is by such low, villainous falsehoods and artifices that they have carried on the farce so far, and thereby imposed on the governor and council. By Heavens, were you and the people sensible of the villainy used in this dispute by the opposite party, from the highest to the lowest, you and they would be astonished beyond measure. In short I have not words nor knowledge of villainous ideas sufficient to expose their roguery."—*Manuscript letter; Johnson to Banyar 25th Feb., 1763.*

On the appointed day, all the sachems and chief men ^{CHAP.} of the castle were in attendance, together with thirty-three ^{IX} of the principal women. The chief sachem of the Onondagas and a few of the Oneidas and Cayugas were also present, drawn hither by the interest which they all felt in the result of an affair that was to effect so materially their Mohawk brethren. Notwithstanding the streams were swollen and the roads nearly impassable, Sir William was also prompt, together with two of his deputies, Captain Claus and Lieutenant Guy Johnson, the latter of whom had, but a few days previously, been united in marriage to the Baronet's youngest daughter Mary. The meeting having been opened in the presence of the superintendent and eight justices, by the reading of the order of the council, the former arose, and after briefly stating to the Indians the object of calling them together, requested that they would, after hearing the declaration read, frankly state, whether or not it expressed the real sentiments of their castle; "and," continued he, "I wish you now to lay before me and his majesty's justices here assembled, the whole matter of complaint relative to the lands in dispute, that I may immediately transmit the same to his excellency the governor, who, you may rest assured, will, on a just presentation of the same, procure you all the justice which the case shall appear to deserve." As soon as he had finished, the declaration and the two Indian deeds were interpreted to the sachems, who, thereupon, withdrew to consider their reply.

In about two hours they returned. The reply of Cayenguiragoa, their speaker, is truly affecting. Adorned with no flowers of rhetoric, it presents in a simple and artless manner a summary of the wrongs and injustice practiced upon them by the whites, aided by the demon fire-water—nor can any one, with the faintest spark of moral feeling, rise from its perusal without burning with indignation at the base means by which a noble race was brought to irretrievable ruin.

CHAP. IX. After stating that they had attentively considered all
 1763. that had been said to them, and that after the most diligent enquiry, they could not learn who were the authors of the declaration sent to the council by Klock, the speaker continued :

“As I have already mentioned, in answer to you, we cannot find any one acquainted with these transactions, unless it be Cobus, whose mother declared she was in want of land as well as ourselves, but upon the strictest enquiry, we find that *liquor must have been the cause of the whole*, and we now deliver you a bottle of liquor with which we were beguiled by George Klock.

“*Brother: Liquor hath been always our ruin*, for whenever any of our people go over to the house of George Klock, and we send for them from there, he fills them with more, and by that means detains them, let their presence be required on matters of ever so much importance. This liquor, hath, as I have said, been always our ruin, as none of our people would otherwise have so acted, neither was it likely that any of our people would have sold their lands twice, for if the land in question had been formerly sold, we should not have asked a second price for it.”

At this point, John Duncan, who acted on this occasion as the attorney for Mr. Livingston and the other claimants, having asked if there was not some sachem present who knew of the original purchase, he replied—“I am very glad you have mentioned this, as it affords us an opportunity of laying open the affair. This is the cause” (offering another bottle) “which has produced it.” Thereupon, Araghiadecka, an old sachem, whose name it was alleged was upon the original deed, arose and spoke as follows :

“*Brother: For my part I only know by hearsay that I have signed it. I know nothing of any purchase, as at that time I was young and did not mind such matters. It is probable that I might have formerly signed it when in liquor, as 'tis said I have lately done so. I speak of the old affair, as I have not since signed it as reported. I*

have been often urged to sign it by George Klock, and offered sixty dollars for that purpose, which I always refused. This is all I have to say or know of the affair." CHAP.
IX.
1763.

Cayenguiragoa then continued: "It goes very hard with us, and gives us great uneasiness, as none of the rest of the Germans have used us as George Klock, as you may see by this other bottle," (presenting a third). "In this manner he has gone on since he was concerned in the land, and in this manner he has acted for a year or two, constantly enticing all our people who passed by, giving us these bottles to induce us to sign the papers. I have now done with the affair of the liquor which we have had from George Klock the *governor*, who says that he is greater than the governor of New York.

"*Brother*: We now shall make an end. Our case is very hard, and it would be very difficult to sum up all the endeavors which have been made use of to seduce us, and make us in liquor, for when one bottle was emptied, *another was always filled*, and would require a large vessel to contain all that has been given us. This same George Klock has, we find, given out that he has given us five hundred and sixty-five dollars. If this is so, it must have been seen on us. It is very strange what should have become of it. You may see we are all naked, and must have spent it in the taverns, which is not the case, and may be inquired into. Here we are now all assembled, and we beg that you will inquire what has become of that sum." Being asked whether he knew that they had ever received that sum, he answered: "It is very hard you won't credit me, as I have repeated to you that there was no other consideration given but rum." In answer to the question, who were the persons of their castle in whom was vested the power to transact public business, he replied: "Those who are here are the chiefs for all such matters, being the sachems for the transaction of all matters of importance, and as such, are known to the whole of the Six Nations;" and on being farther asked, if the women

CHAP. were looked upon as having any right in the disposal of
 IX. lands, he answered, that "they were the properest owners,
 1763. being the persons who labored on their lands, and were
 therefore esteemed in that light."

"We have now, brother, done with this affair, and I have now to observe, that we have frequently requested you would endeavor to see us righted, and as the governor is a very good man, we must beg he will interpose and put a stop to such proceedings, by preventing our being seduced by Klock. If not, it may prove a means of making us drunk, and I am heartily glad that so many justices are now present to hear and bear testimony of what we have said. It is particularly hard on us also, as we have not that authority for preventing our people from such actions as you have, and we therefore beg you will put a stop to the selling of rum, which alone is in your power; for whilst they can come at liquor we can have no influence or authority over them.

"We are determined to hold fast by the covenant chain, but are also determined to do the same by our land. We love the covenant chain as we do our lives, and we do the same by our lands, which we are determined to die by rather than give up. You must not think I am alone, or that I speak for myself. I speak in the name of the whole, not only for the men, but for the women who are here present, and should there be any here present who disapprove of what I have said, let them speak their sentiments." At this point of the speech, all the women present unanimously corroborated what he had said, declaring that "they did not choose to part with their lands and be reduced to make brooms for a living." "I have now no more to say but to request that you will be steadfast in observing the covenant, which shall be faithfully observed on our parts, as it has always been; for should Klock be permitted to turn us off our possessions, our fire must inevitably become extinguished."

As soon as Cayenguiragoa had finished, Mr. Duncan

requested that the Indians might be informed that the land in question was not claimed through Klock, but from the governor's patent, and the old deed signed by their forefathers, and farther, that there was a living witness who saw the consideration paid. Upon this being interpreted to Cayenguiragoa, he said that if it was so, the witness ought to be produced, and then added :

CHAP.
IX.
1763.

"We should be very glad if those who are concerned in this land would give up their claim, as they must know the same was stolen, and privately surveyed in the night. I have observed to you already, that we heartily desire you will desist from all thought concerning the land, and stick to everything for the public good. I must say that it is very hard that children and unqualified persons should be introduced as persons signing that paper, since they could have no right so to do. It was reported by George Klock that we were in the French interest, and that we had taken his brother and killed his son; *here is the man himself now present* who knows whether it was so or not, and can prove the falsity thereof. By such evil reports and proceedings we are rendered very uneasy, and beg you will for the future pay no regard to any papers said to be signed by us, but that you will apply to ourselves, and thus learn the particulars thereof, except such as are done in a public meeting."

Mr. Duncan here endeavored to pacify the Indians, by telling them that nothing more was desired by the claimants than to arrange the affair amicably, and that he had now some proposals to make on behalf of himself and the rest. This attempt, however, to smooth over matters was promptly foiled by Cayenguiragoa, who peremptorily replied, that "they would attend to no farther proposals on *paper*, but desired that the whole might be transmitted to the governor." The Baronet, thereupon, dissolved the assemblage, by stating that the justices and himself had faithfully attended to all of their remarks, and that after

CHAP. IX. they had been drawn up and signed, they should be carefully forwarded to the governor and council.¹

1763. To what extent Mr. Livingston was personally implicated in these fraudulent transactions does not appear. He certainly gave them his countenance, and to say the least, he erred greatly in allowing his name to be used in connection with a patent, which had been obtained by his father and others in such a surreptitious manner. Nor is it at all creditable to his character of integrity and love of fair dealing, that he should have retained, as his acknowledged agent, a man whose infamous dealings were so well known.

The promise made to the Indians by Sir William was faithfully performed; and the result was, that Mr. Livingston and the other claimants, either through shame at the infamous practices of their agents being thus brought to light, or perhaps—may we hope—actuated by a sincere desire to repair the wrong done, executed a release to the Mohawks of their lands. George Klock alone refused to relinquish his share; and although, during the life time of the Baronet, he remained comparatively quiet, yet after his decease he renewed his claim, but without success. I have dwelt more at length upon this transaction, as it furnishes one out of numerous instances of the land frauds practiced upon the Indians, and reveals, moreover, the implicit confidence which both the government and the Indians had in the integrity of the superintendent. Nor is it a slight proof of the latter's influence, that he could thus combat and successfully baffle the power of one of the most influential families in the province of New York.

On the Baronet's return to Johnson Hall—whither he had now removed—he stopped a day or two at Fort Johnson, his late residence, to adjust a matter of difference between the Mohawks of the lower castle, and a deputa-

¹ Manuscript "Proceedings at a meeting held at Canajoharie with the Indians, March 10th, 1763, before Sir Wm. Johnson, Bart., and several justices of the peace for the county of Albany."

tion from Schenectady, in relation to the Schenectady Flats; ^{CHAP. IX.} the former alleging that the Flats had never been sold by ^{1762.} their ancestors to the whites, but had been simply lent as a pasture ground for cattle. In answer to this allegation, the deputies produced an Indian deed for the land in question, dated in 1679, and also the patent granted in 1684 by Governor Dongan, together with several receipts for the consideration. The proofs thus adduced, were considered by Sir William as entirely satisfactory, and he gave his decision accordingly. The Mohawks had come to the meeting with the most bitter feelings, but such was their confidence in the Baronet, that upon hearing the decision, they declared themselves perfectly satisfied, for, said they, "Sir William Johnson never yet deceived us."

While this meeting was holding, Colonel Eliphalet Dyer and Mr. Woodbridge of Stockbridge, arrived at Fort Johnson on the twenty-third of March. The object of their visit was to ascertain whether the Six Nations were coming down to a meeting, which some Connecticut people had proposed to hold at Albany, on the twenty-second of March, for the purpose of persuading them to part with their Susquehanna lands. These people were now in Albany, and had brought with them to aid their negotiations three or four hundred pounds in money, besides three barrels of pork! This was the consideration, they proposed to give, for the rich lands of the beautiful Wyoming valley! The invitation to this meeting had been sent to the Six Nations the last autumn, but the Indian, to whom it had been given, well knowing its object, had never presented it to those for whom it was designed, and thus the matter had remained. On being informed of this fact, the two gentlemen grew quite warm, and insisted on their title to the Wyoming lands by virtue of the Connecticut claim extending to the west seas. Sir William having replied that he was confident the Six Nations would never allow a settlement upon their war path and best hunting grounds, they, in the most positive terms,

CHAP. IX. declared that the Susquehanna company had been a great
 1763. while concerned in the affair, and had been at a great deal
 of expense, and that they were therefore determined to settle immediately on the land more than one thousand families—a number they should judge sufficient to defend their claims against any opposition. By way, however, of an inducement for Sir William to interpose in their behalf, they offered to receive him as an equal partner in the land, and proposed to send up to him the money and pork, that he might call the Confederacy together and persuade them to agree to the purchase. “All of which,” nobly says the Baronet in his private diary, “I refused with the slight it deserved, and gave them my opinion of the whole affair, and also told them the unhappy consequences which would in all probability follow, should they (as they often hinted) force a settlement in those parts. After many fruitless efforts to prevail on me to join and assist them, they returned to Albany.”

The Mohawks, who had not yet returned to their homes, having ascertained the cause of the visit, expressed the utmost uneasiness; giving it as their opinion, that if the New Englanders persisted in their purpose, it would bring on a general disturbance throughout the whole Confederacy. They therefore before separating, held a private council, the result of which was a request to the Baronet, that he would transmit their sentiments on the affair to the governor of Connecticut, accompanied with a belt of wampum.¹

At length, justly alarmed at the pertinacity with which the Connecticut people, in defiance of their wishes, continued to send settlers into the valley of Wyoming, the Confederacy sent in May a deputation to the governor of Connecticut, to protest in person against the encroachments of his people. The deputation carried a letter from

¹ Manuscript letter; Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, 30th March, 1763.

the Baronet, recommending it to the consideration of the governor, and was, moreover, accompanied by Guy Johnson, who was sent by the superintendent to give the mission additional character. The council, which continued two days, was held at Hartford in the presence of the governor and the general assembly of the colony. The Six Nations were represented by five sachems, two from the Onondagas and Cayugas each, and one from the Mohawks. They were received kindly by Governor Fitch, and having been each in turn taken by the hand and welcomed by him in the name of the government, Sagayen-guaraghta, the chief sachem of the Onondagas, arose and delivered his message in the name of the Six Nations.

The speech of the sachem was mild and conciliatory, yet, at the same time, it breathed a calm and firm determination to maintain their rights even at the peril of life itself. Having presented a belt to clear the eyes of the governor and the assembly, the orator drew a short sketch of the history of their Confederacy, their first acquaintance with the whites, and the origin of the covenant chain. At the very first interview they had liked the English, and had given them land on which to settle. During this time the whites had become numerous and prosperous, for which they heartily rejoiced. But notwithstanding all this, they had heard something the past winter, that had made them sad, viz. : that three hundred Connecticut families were about to settle upon their lands, with the intention of erecting dwellings and forts. Upon hearing this extraordinary piece of intelligence, their sachems had resolved to acquaint the governor of Connecticut with the proceedings of his people, and for that purpose they were now here. The speaker then alluded to the deed that Lydius had obtained from a few Indians of no consequence in the Confederacy (very much, by the way, after the manner of Klock's purchase), and denied its validity. They had, it is true, heretofore given away land to the English, but of the sale of the Susquehanna lands, the Six Nations

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CHAP. IX. knew nothing. "And now brothers," continued Sagay-
 1763. enguaraghta, "seriously take it into your consideration,
 and think how you would like it, to have your lands taken
 from you in an unfair and injurious manner. You are a
 praying people, better acquainted with books and learn-
 ing than we, and must needs know better what is right,
 than to think it well to have your lands, as we may say,
 stolen from you. Surely you could not like it, to be
 treated in such a manner,—to have your land taken from
 you that you depended upon for your support.

"*Brothers*: As I have told you before, we have been
 sent here by our chiefs to let you know that we have
 heard about your design of encroaching upon our lands,
 and we now deliver you this belt to show the minds of
 the Confederate nations, that they are resolved to keep
 the lands for themselves and their children to the latest
 posterity. If, however, you still proceed to encroach upon
 our lands, we shall not be easy but will return home to our
 places, and apply ourselves to the king, our father, to obtain
 justice, and I myself will go. And now I have said all I
 have to say."

In his answer, two days after, Governor Fitch, on
 behalf of his government, disclaimed any intention of sell-
 ing the Susquehanna lands, or doing anything, in fact,
 calculated to infringe upon their rights in the slightest
 degree. He had, indeed, been informed, that a number of
 individuals both from New England and New York, con-
 templated settling at Wyoming, but he had strongly
 remonstrated against any such attempt. Lately, moreover,
 he had received express orders from the king, command-
 ing him to use every effort to prevent those people from
 settling the valley, until the matter could be laid before
 the crown. They might rest assured, therefore, that their
 rights would be carefully guarded, more especially also, as
 the members of the Susquehanna company had recently
 met and determined to pursue the project no farther until
 the king's pleasure was known. In reply, the delegation

expressed themselves pleased at this information, and declared, that if they ever should make up their minds to part with the lands, his people should, if they desired it, have the precedence of all other purchasers. "We are to receive no presents on this occasion, but as to your offer to discharge our expences while in this town, we gratefully accept and acknowledge the same, and heartily bid you farewell."¹

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The exertions of Governor Fitch, aided by the order from the king, were so far successful, that for the next six years, the Susquehanna company forbore any farther operations in the beautiful valley of Wyoming. In the mean time, however, the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania having taken advantage of a grand Indian council, held at Fort Stanwix in the autumn of 1768, to obtain a deed of the disputed territory from some of the chiefs, the Susquehanna company called a meeting and resolved to resume the settlement. Under its auspices forty pioneers were thrown into the valley in February, 1768, and from that time, in defiance of right and justice, settlers continued to pour in, until in the horrid massacre of Wyoming, they suffered a fearful, though in a measure self-inflicted punishment for their temerity.²

Although preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain, France, Spain and Portugal, had been signed at Fontainebleau on the third of November, 1762, yet it was not until the tenth of February, that a definite treaty was formally ratified at Paris. The experience which England

¹ Manuscript minutes of a conference held by the governor of Connecticut at Hartford, with the Six Nations' deputies. May 28th 1763.—*Manuscript letter; Governor Fitch to Sir William Johnson*, 30th May, 1763.

² "I need not observe to your excellency the dangerous consequences which must inevitably attend the settlement of these people [in Wyoming], having been formerly honored with your sentiments therein. If they only were to suffer, I think *their rashness and defiance of all public authority deserves it*, but I am apprehensive it will not stop there."—*Manuscript letter; Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffrey Amherst*, 30th March, 1763.

CHAP. IX. had acquired during the last fourteen years, though obtained
 1763. at such an immense cost of blood and treasure, had not been lost; and the position that she now assumed, was far different from the one taken by her at the treaty of Aix La Chapelle. She now saw that there could be no security to her American frontiers, nor guaranty for a permanent peace, so long as Canada remained under French dominion; and though there were statesmen, Lord Hardwicke among them, in favor of retaining the West Indies and abandoning Canada, yet the policy, in which the great commoner had carried on the war, prevailed, and the retention of Canada was insisted upon as the basis of all negotiation. The result of the treaty, therefore, was, that Nova Scotia, Canada, the Isle of Cape Breton, and all the islands in the St. Lawrence, were ceded to the British crown, and it was, moreover, expressly agreed that the boundary between the French and English possessions should be forever set at rest by a "line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source, as far as the river Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and of the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain to the sea"—all of the French possessions on the left side of that river being ceded to England, excepting the Isle of Orleans and Louisiana. In return, England relinquished Martinico in the West Indies, Belleisle on the coast of France, and Guadaloupe, reserving only the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines. Spain received back the Havana, on condition of her ceding Florida to the crown of Great Britain; the latter agreeing to destroy all the fortifications that her subjects had erected in the bay of Honduras, and in other territory still under Spanish dominion.

Thus had the inordinate desire to appropriate territory to which there was not the least claim, led to the irretrievable ruin of French power in America; and as, in 1749, England came from the convocation at Aix La Chapelle, the jeer of the nations, so France rose from the signing of the treaty of Paris, in the eyes of every Frenchman to

whom the honor of his country was dear, humbled and abased.

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But while the colonists were yet rejoicing in the news of peace, dark clouds were slowly covering the western sky. The causes which had produced the inimical feelings of the western tribes, as well as their partially matured plot for the destruction of the English in the spring of 1761, have already been related at length in a previous chapter. The general treaty which Sir William Johnson had made with them in the summer of 1761, at Detroit, had mollified them for a time; and it is probable that had the tribes been left to themselves, they would, with the exception of an occasional trivial outbreak, have sullenly submitted to their new neighbors. But there was one, savage, rude and untutored though he was, whose sagacious mind saw in the advance of the English, the gradual extinction of his people. That man was Pontiac, the king of the Ottawa Confederacy.¹ To avert the calamity he so much dreaded, he conceived in the summer of 1762, the design, like another Philip, of driving the English from the continent. Forming a league with the great interior tribes, chiefly of the Algonquin stock, and summoning their forces in unison upon the war path, he attacked in the spring the garrisons upon the frontiers and the lakes, investing many of them almost simultaneously. The posts of Le Boeuf, Venango, Presque Isle, Sandusky, St. Joseph, Miami and Michillimackinac, fell into the hands of the savages, some of them by strategy, and others by capitulation. The Indians, however, with true Punie faith, regarded not the terms which they had granted, and the scalps of those who surrendered long adorned the interior

¹ "The Ottawa Confederacy is composed of many western nations, of which the chief are the Wyandots or Hurons, Pottawatamies, Chipewas and Ottawas. The tribes of the Confederacy reside chiefly on the peninsula between lakes Michigan and Huron, and the country north of lakes Erie and Ontario to the Ottawa river."—*Manuscript statement of Sir William Johnson.*

CHAP. of many a wigwam. Detroit, Niagara, and Fort Pitt alone
IX. } defied the enemy.

1763. It was now more important than ever that the friendship of the Six Nations should be retained, as upon their fidelity depended not only the safety of the frontiers, but the communication to Oswego and the more western posts, Niagara and Detroit. Upon the first intelligence of the general uprising of the tribes of the west, Sir William Johnson, doubting the fidelity of the Confederacy, but especially the Senecas, sent messengers to all their castles inviting them to a general council at the German Flats. This distrust of the Senecas was well founded; not only were they at this time the most numerous and powerful of the Six Nations—numbering ten hundred and fifty fighting men¹—but living on the outskirts of the Confederacy, they were the least subject to the authority of the Baronet. From their proximity, moreover, to Niagara, the French had been able, for many years, to keep missionaries constantly among them; and, by the lavish use of presents, had alienated them in a great measure from the English. Indeed, it would have been very strange had it been otherwise. The return, however, of the messengers in a few days, dispelled all apprehensions of the fidelity of the larger portion of the Confederacy. The Senecas, it is true, now openly and boldly espoused the cause of Pontiac, thus verifying the

¹The number of fighting men at this time, which the Six Nations could bring into the field, according to the estimate made by Sir William Johnson in 1763, was as follows:

Mohawks.....	160	Onondagas.....	150
Oneidas.....	250	Cayugas.....	200
Tuscaroras.....	140	Senecas.....	1050

1950

Including the Oswegatchies—emigrants chiefly from the Onondagas and settled at Osewagatchie—of which there were 80—2030.

For an elaborate statement of the Indian nations included under the Six Nations and Ottawa Confederacies, as well as the location of all their different towns and villages, see appendix vi, of this volume. This is a very carefully prepared document, made by Sir William Johnson in 1763, and to the student will well repay its perusal.

fears of the superintendent, and proving the insincerity of their professions two years previously at Niagara, but the other nations remained firm. The Onondagas, to whom the Senecas had sent three war belts of wampum inviting them to take up the hatchet against the English, indignantly rejected, on behalf of themselves and the Confederacy, the proposal, declaring their resolution to live and die by the English. So also said the Mohawks.¹

These friendly assurances were renewed at the council held at the German Flats in the middle of July. Large delegations from all the nations, excepting the Senecas, were present; and although they had not quite determined to engage actively against Pontiac, yet the Baronet found no difficulty in persuading them not only to remain neutral, but to allow the passage of troops through their territory. The importance of the neutrality thus obtained, cannot, perhaps, be too highly estimated. Had the Six Nations gone over to the side of Pontiac, all the horrors that the French war had witnessed on the borders of New England, would have been renewed with even greater ferocity in the province of New York; while with the convoys cut off, and the reinforcements waylaid and killed in passing from Albany to Oswego, Detroit must inevitably have succumbed to the savages.¹

While the Baronet was thus busily engaged at the Ger-

¹ Mr. Bancroft is mistaken in intimating (vol. v, p. 111) that the Iroquois Confederacy joined the Delawares and other tribes in inciting the north-western nations to revolt. None of the Confederacy, as an individual nation, did so, except the Senecas, and not all even of those.—*Sir William Johnson to the lords of trade, 1st July, 1763.* *Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, 14th Sept., 1763.* *Sir William Johnson to the same, 11th July, 1763.* *Sir William Johnson to the lords of trade 20th January, 1764.* Also manuscript correspondence of Sir William Johnson.

¹ "The Indians of five out of the six nations, who, from the commencement of the present Indian war have shown great zeal and attachment toward the English, have thereby preserved these frontiers and the important communication to Ontario, both of which must have inevitably fallen but for their fidelity."—Manuscript letter; Johnson to General Burton, Feb. 11, 1764.

CHAP. man Flats, his son-in-law, Captain Claus, was, by his
 IX. direction, holding a general congress at the Sault St. Louis
 1763. with the St. Francis, Swegatchie, Caughnawagas and
 other prominent Canadian tribes. The result of the deputy's negotiations was, that those Indians dispatched two messengers to their western brethren—one going through Lake Ontario to Detroit, and the other by the Ottawa river to Michillimackinac—advising them to lay down the hatchet, and declaring at the same time, that if their counsel was disregarded, they themselves would take up the hatchet in favor of their English brethren.¹

But notwithstanding the good feeling manifested by the Confederates and the nations of Canada, Sir William did not relax his precautions. The militia were promptly ordered out, and sent in companies of fifty to different posts along the frontier; while Indian scouts roamed the forests from Crown Point to Oswego in search of the prowling foe. While thus engaged, rumors came that his personal safety was in danger—that the followers of Pontiac, enraged at a man whose influence had prevented the Six Nations from joining them, had sworn to take his life. Upon hearing this report, the faithful Mohawks waited in a body upon the Baronet, and offered to join him to a man against any nation who should attempt to carry this threat into execution.² But though flattered at this proof of their affection, he did not deem it prudent to rely entirely on their good offices for protection. He accordingly armed his tenantry, and surrounded Johnson Hall with a strong stockade flanked by two stone towers, receiving a guard of twelve regulars and one sergeant from Fort Stanwix for its defence.³ The result of these measures was,

¹ Johnson to Amherst, 25th Aug., 1763.

² Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, 30th July, 1763.

³ These two towers are still to be seen (1864) on each side of Johnson Hall. One of these towers was defended by a small brass cannon that Sir Peter Warren had captured at the siege of Louisburg, and sent to his nephew as a present and trophy.

that while the frontiers of Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland suffered severely during the whole war from the ravages of the foe, the province of New York, with the exception of some slight incursions upon the borders of Orange and Ulster counties, was left comparatively unmolested,

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1763. Detroit was, at this period, the most strongly fortified of any of the more remote western posts. It consisted of a stockade twenty-five feet high, in the form of a square, and contained about one hundred houses, many of which were occupied by the French and English fur-traders. The garrison, which numbered one hundred and twenty men and eight officers, was composed of Gage's light infantry, under the command of Major Gladwin, who, it will be remembered, had accompanied Sir William Johnson on his journey to Detroit, to succeed Captain Cambell in the command. In artillery the fort boasted of but five small pieces, and of these, three were mortars, and so badly mounted as to be of no service. Both banks of the river were lined, for the distance of eight miles, with the white cottages of the Canadian farmers who had been attracted hither by the mildness of the climate, the richness of the land, and the abundance of the game. About a mile below the fort, on the same bank of the river, was the Pottawatamy village; almost directly opposite, that of the Wyandots; and four miles above stood the wigwams of the Ottawas. Such was the situation of affairs, when, toward the close of April, Pontiac quietly invested the fort with upward of six hundred Indians.

It was the intention of Pontiac to gain admittance into the fort with three hundred of his warriors, and at a given signal, fall upon the unsuspecting garrison, and massacre them to a man. Happily, however, the plot was revealed to Major Gladwin on the sixth of May, by his mistress, a pretty Ojibwa girl, and steps were immediately taken for

the safety of the garrison. Accordingly, when Pontiac and his warriors made their visit the next day, instead of straggling groups of soldiers at the corners of the streets, they saw the glitter of bayonets, and heard the roll of drums. Perceiving at a glance that his plot was discovered, the great Ottawa chieftain made a few hollow professions of friendship, and without giving the signal, withdrew with his followers, gnashing his teeth in impotent fury.

On the morning of the ninth, as the Canadians were returning from mass, Pontiac appeared on the green before the fort with three hundred warriors, but found the gate barred against him. To his question, why he was refused admittance, Gladwin curtly replied, that he might enter if he wished, but that it must be without the rabble at his heels. At this answer, the Indians threw off all farther dissimulation. Uttering horrid yells, they rushed into several English dwellings, built outside the palisades, and having tomahawked their wretched inmates, bore the reeking scalps to their camp, and spent the entire night in dancing and carousing. In the early dawn of the following morning, the rattling of bullets against the stockades told the garrison that the seige had begun.

There might yet be hope. Moored in the stream, close under the fort, lay two lightly armed schooners, the Beaver and the Gladwin. The latter vessel was now dispatched to Niagara for aid; and while she sped on her mission, Pontiac, with his hosts of warriors, calmly sat down before the fort in expectation of starving the garrison into a surrender. Of this, there at first seemed some danger. At the commencement of the seige, there was not in the fort provisions for more than three weeks; and had it not been for the supplies which a few friendly Canadians carried in under cover of the night, the garrison must eventually either have abandoned the post, or have died of starvation. Still, although the officers and men endeavored to keep up good courage, many weary weeks passed with no sight of the looked for succors. Each evening saw the savages

CHAP. watching with undiminished patience every movement of
X. the garrison, and the morning sun found them still at
1763. their posts. A reinforcement of ninety-six men, under Lieutenant Cuyler, which had left Niagara on the thirteenth of May, was attacked by a party of Wyandots, near the mouth of the Detroit river, when about to encamp for the night. So sudden was the onset, that the detachment was completely routed. About forty of the English were taken prisoners, only to suffer death in its most horrible form—that of being roasted alive—and the remainder, among whom was Lieutenant Cuyler, having succeeded in escaping in two boats, reached Niagara on the sixth of June, bringing with them the tidings of the burning of Sandusky, the ruins of which they had passed on their return.

The condition of the garrison was now extremely critical. The besiegers had recently been reinforced by several bands of Ojibwas, thus increasing their force to more than eight hundred men.¹ The troops were worn out with want of sleep, and their daily allowance of food was reduced to the smallest pittance. Added to all this, their cheerful spirits, which had hitherto sustained them, began now to give way under the news that reached them of the fall, one after another of the western posts, until it was soon evident to them that they stood alone in the heart of the wilderness, a mere handful of men, surrounded by hundreds of implacable and relentless foes. Fortunately, however, on the twenty-third of June, a schooner arrived from Niagara, bringing Lieutenant Cuyler and sixty men, together with ample supplies of provisions and ammunition. This opportune reinforcement renewed the fainting hopes of the garrison; and now no one spoke of abandoning the fort, but on the contrary, resolved to await patiently the relief which, as their situation was known, could not be far distant. Nor were they mistaken; for while they yet waited, a strong reinforcement was on its way to their relief.

The first intelligence of the rout of Lieutenant Cuyler's

¹ These were Ottawas, Wyandots, Ojibwas and Pottawatamies.

party was communicated to General Amherst by Sir Wil-
liam Johnson, who received it by an express from Niagara } CHAP.
on the sixth of June. The general at once detached his } X.
favorite aid-de-camp, Captain Dalyell, to Niagara, with } 1763.
orders to proceed to Detroit with reinforcements, should
he consider them necessary. Upon the latter's arrival at
Niagara, and learning the situation of Detroit, he imme-
diately embarked for that post, taking with him, in twenty-
two bateaux, two hundred and eighty men,—among whom
were twenty independent rangers under Rogers—several
small cannon and a plentiful supply of provisions. Halt-
ing a day at Sandusky, to destroy the neighboring village
of the Wyandots, Dalyell proceeded on his voyage, and
appeared, like a beneficent avatar, before the eyes of the
garrison, at sunrise on the twenty-ninth of July.

Dalyell, who had shared with Israel Putnam many a
danger, partook of that officer's wild and daring spirit.
No sooner, therefore, were his troops fairly disembarked,
than he hastened to Gladwin's quarters, and begged to
be allowed to lead his detachment against the besiegers
that very night. "The enemy," he urged, "may be sur-
prised in their camp and driven out of the settlement."
His superior officer at first shrunk from such a proceed-
ing as rash and dangerous, but finally, overcome by the
vehement persuasions of the impulsive captain, he reluc-
tantly gave his consent. At half past two o'clock, on the
morning of the thirty-first, two hundred and forty-eight
picked men marched forth into the night. Two bateaux,
each carrying a small cannon, followed up the river to
render assistance if necessary. It was the intention of
Dalyell to rush suddenly upon Pontiac and his Indians
when asleep; but that chieftain, having been informed of
his design through the treachery of a Canadian, broke up
his camp, and with his warriors waited breathlessly for the
English to come within his ambushade. The party had
advanced up the river road some two miles, and were just
entering upon a bridge over a little stream that flowed

CHAP. into the river, when suddenly terrific yells filled the air,
 X. and the flashes of musketry revealed the dusky forms of
 1763. the savages, hovering in clouds upon their rear and flanks. Nearly all of the advanced guard fell at the first fire, and the survivors, after vainly attempting to rally, retreated into the fort, under the cover of Major Rogers and his rangers, who, familiar with Indian tactics, took possession of a house on the roadside, and thus kept the pursuers at bay. In this night sortie, sixty-nine of the English were either killed or wounded. The brave Dalyell, himself, "marked by the enemy for his extreme bravery," received a mortal wound while endeavoring to rescue a sergeant of the fifty-fifth; and in the confusion of the moment his body was left on the field.¹

A populous city has since grown up near the spot where Dalyell fell, and the busy hum of business has succeeded the din of savage warfare; but the scenes of this night will ever be commemorated by the purling stream which still retains the name of The Bloody Run.

For the relief of Fort Pitt, now closely besieged by the Delawares, Shawanese, and Wyandots, Colonel Bouquet was dispatched from Philadelphia by General Amherst, with a force of five hundred regulars. The latter were in no condition to undertake the journey. They were composed chiefly of Highlanders from the forty-second and seventy-seventh regiments, and were debilitated by their expedition to Havana, whence they had but recently returned. The exigency of the case, however, admitted of no delay, and Amherst had no alternative but to send

¹ Parkman's Pontiac. "A [Manuscript] Journal of the seige of Detroit taken from the officers who were then in the fort, and wrote in their words in the following manner." This Manuscript Journal is signed by Major Robert Rogers, and dated at Detroit, 8 August, 1763, and was sent by the ranger to Sir William Johnson. *Manuscript letter; De Couagne to Johnson. Also correspondence between Gladwin and Amherst.*

The body of Capt. Dalyell, was recovered a few days after the fight in a shockingly mangled condition and buried inside of the fort.—*Manuscript Journal above quoted.*

those troops that were immediately under his control. CHAP.
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The legislature of Pennsylvania, involved in disputes with the Proprietaries, had voted for the defence of the frontier but seven hundred men, and instead of placing them under the control of the commander-in-chief, it had insisted upon constituting them a force merely for the protection of the farmers in gathering their harvests. Since the commencement of Indian hostilities, moreover, no news had been received from the garrison of Fort Pitt; nor was the solicitude thus occasioned, lessened by the knowledge that the spring floods of 1762 had washed away a large portion of the defences of that fort; and although at the time, the damage had been partially repaired by Lieutenant Colonel Eyre, who had been detailed for that purpose,¹ yet the early floods of the present year, might, for all that was known to the contrary, have again caused the same catastrophe. Its fate was therefore a matter of painful uncertainty.

Leaving Philadelphia the middle of July, and passing the deserted posts of Littleton and the Juniata, Colonel Bouquet arrived at Fort Bedford, on the twenty-fifth of July. Here he found the inhabitants in the wildest terror, occasioned by a recent incursion of the Indians into the Tuscarora valley, which had resulted in the massacre of some twenty-five of the settlers. Sick at heart at the desolation that every where met him, Bouquet crossed the Alleghanies with his little army, and reached Fort Ligonier, a small stockade just over the mountains, on the second of August. His arrival at this post was opportune. For many weeks it had been beleaguered by Indians, who, with sleepless vigilance, had watched the garrison, and, cutting off all messengers to and from the fort, had nearly forced them to succumb. At the approach of the army, the savages raised the siege, and fled into the forest. Colonel Bouquet, having the fate of Braddock in those

¹ Manuscript letter; Lieutenant Colonel Eyre to Sir William Johnson, 1762.

CHAP. X. same mountain passes vividly before him, resolved to
1762. march the rest of the way as lightly equipped as possible. Leaving therefore at Fort Ligonier, most of the wagons and oxen, and such of his baggage as might prevent a successful resistance in case of an attack, he pushed forward with renewed alacrity. The result showed the wisdom of his precautions. Aware of the approach of the English, the Indians withdrew from before Fort Pitt on the last day of July, and having laid an ambuscade in a thickly wooded hollow near Bushy Run,¹ anticipated an easy victory. But it was not Braddock for whom they now lay in wait.

At one o'clock, on the afternoon of the second day after leaving Fort Ligonier, the crack of rifles in front of the column, followed by the dreaded war-whoop, announced the presence of the foe. Two companies of Highlanders immediately hastened to the support of the advanced guard, but they were unable to dislodge the enemy, until the whole column, having formed into line, charged with the bayonet, and trampling down the underbrush compelled them to retire. But their retreat was only momentary. Encouraging each other with their unearthly yells, they returned to the combat, and scattering in all directions they poured a deadly fire not only upon the flanks of the English, but also upon the convoy, which was some distance behind. And now to the rattling of musketry, yells of the savages, and the shouts of officers, was added the neighing of three hundred and fifty horses, as, frantic with terror, they attempted to break away from their drivers. A portion of the troops formed a circle around the horses and cattle to prevent a stampede, and the remainder, forming still another circle around their companions, fought manfully with the foe, hand to hand, and from tree to tree. For seven hours the battle was

¹ A branch of Turtle creek, falling into the Monongahela, ten miles above Fort Pitt.

thus hotly contested, until the shades of night fell upon the combatants.

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The savages, confident of an easy victory on the morrow, waited impatiently for the dawn; while the troops weary and faint sank upon their arms to snatch a little repose. In the gray twilight of the following morning, the attack was renewed. The Indians fought with a fury only rendered the more intense, from the sight of their victims, as it were, in their very grasp. They now grew more bold in their approaches, and contrary to their usual manner of fighting, advanced from behind the trees, and delivered their fire in sight of the English. Observing their temerity Bouquet gave orders for a feigned retreat, hoping by this manœuvre to bring the enemy together in a body. The ruse succeeded to perfection. The Indians seeing the English retreating, and impatient to secure their scalps, rushed from their coverts, only to be attacked on their flanks and rear by four companies of Highlanders who had made a detour through the forest for this purpose. As they turned to meet this attack in their rear, the retreating columns wheeled and pressed them so vigorously with the bayonet in front, that they gave way and fled in all directions, leaving sixty of their number dead on the field. The loss of the English, however, was not small, for in the two engagements not less than one hundred and fifteen men and eight officers were either killed, wounded or missing. Halting a day to prepare ambulances for the wounded, the party hastened forward and on the tenth of August, the garrison at the fort was gladdened by the waving plumes of the Highlanders emerging from the neighboring forest.

The battle of Bushy Run forever wiped away the stain which British prowess had received in the defeat of General Braddock. The assembly of Pennsylvania acknowledged the services of the gallant colonel in a formal vote: Sir Jeffery Amherst complimented highly his gene-

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 ralship; and the king thanked him in terms of high consideration.
 1763.

While the wild flowers of the forest were drinking the blood of Bouquet's little band, the chiefs of the Five Nations were engaged in a pacific mission to the Senecas. Their efforts were only partially successful. The principal portion of that nation turned a deaf ear to the solicitations of their brethren, and refused to lay down the hatchet. A few of their castles, however, that had not yet gone upon the war path, were more placable, and seemingly ashamed of the behavior of their kindred, requested the intercession of the friendly ambassadors with Sir William Johnson, that, in consideration of their good conduct hitherto, he would make them an exception in the punishment, which, they were confident, would be visited upon their rebellious nation. To this request, the chiefs willingly assented, and accompanied by six of the friendly Senecas, they visited Johnson Hall to the number of three hundred and twenty-six, and held a conference with the Baronet on the seventh of September.

It has been intimated by a recent historian, that one of the main objects of this treaty was, to secure the "friendship and alliance of the Six Nations;" and that the whole assembly, at the opening of the council, "wore a sour and sullen look."¹ Neither statement is quite correct. The task of conciliating the Five Nations—if indeed their warm attachment from the beginning of hostilities rendered conciliation necessary—had been accomplished by the meeting at the German Flats, two months previously, and also by numerous informal councils since held at Johnson

¹ Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, chap. xxi—It is but justice to this elegant and accurate writer to state, that when his work was written, the colonial documents of the State of New York,—whence my information in this matter is chiefly derived—had not been published. The truthfulness and diligence which stamp every page of Mr. Parkman's work show, that could that writer have had access to these documents, his statement would doubtless have been modified.

Hall ; and so far from coming to this council,—which, by ^{CHAP. X.} the way, had been of their own soliciting,—in an angry mood, they came expressing the warmest attachment to their English brethren.¹ 1763.

In his treatment and reception of the deputies, the Baronet made a broad distinction between those representing the loyal nations of the Confederacy, and the Senecas. Although he appears not to have doubted the sincerity of those Senecas who were present, yet he justly wished them to feel, that, coming from a nation who were in open rebellion, they were regarded with suspicion, and that they had, therefore, not the same claim to his confidence as the others. Still, out of respect to the loyal deputations, he thought it best, as he writes, “to treat them as a people who owed their protection entirely to the other nations.” The Onondaga speaker opened the meeting by giving an account of the present proceedings of the Confederacy with the recreant Senecas. In answer to this, he was told by Sir William, that although their endeavors to bring that unhappy people to their senses, had been entirely unauthorized by him, yet it was doubtless well meant; and they must now perceive that the indifference with which their efforts and his admonition had been received, was a sufficient proof that the Senecas could only be brought to reason by a thorough chastisement. They must also be convinced, he added, that their deluded brethren were not only enemies to the English but traitors to the Confederacy, inasmuch as they disturbed the trade and general harmony of all the Six Nations. For this latter reason, it would be no more than just if they should themselves join General Amherst in putting down the rebellion ; but they were not required to do that, but merely to sit still and observe, that while the English could punish those

¹ Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, 20 August, 1763. Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, 25 August, 1763. Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, 14 September, 1763.

CHAP. who had provoked the war, they could also reward those
 X. who kept the peace. In this latter class, he was glad that
 1763. they were to be found. This had been fully proved by
 their recent message to the Canada Indians, inviting them
 to join in a peaceful alliance, and for which he now sincerely thanked them.

It happened at this time that a deputation of Caughnawagas—a people originally Mohawks but now residing at the Sault St. Louis near Montreal—were at Johnson Hall. The object of their visit was to complain of wrongs done them by the Jesuits, in the purchase of a large tract of land, by virtue of a patent from Louis XIV. General Gage, who was still governor of Montreal, had given his opinion in their favor, but being unable to render a decision in the case, they now desired Sir William to lay this grievance before the king. Ever since the commencement of Indian hostilities, the Baronet had wished to persuade these Indians to take an active part in the war, as from the number of warriors they could bring into the field—more than three hundred—they would prove to the army a powerful auxiliary in forest warfare. It was therefore with pleasure that he found them willing and even desirous to go upon the war path. This, however, they dared not do until the ban that had been laid upon them at the close of the late war, had been removed. “When you took the *war axe* from us,” said they, “you directed us to pursue our hunting, so that we must now be still, having no *axe*.” Their military enthusiasm, however, was no longer to be restrained by the want of permission; for the Baronet, at the close of the council, presented them with a “good English axe, made of the best stuff,” with a request that they should deliver it to all their warriors to be used in “cutting off all the bad links which had sullied the chain of friendship.”¹

Hardly had the last Indian, wrapping his blanket about

¹ “Proceedings [manuscript] of Sir Wm. Johnson with the Six Nations at Johnson Hall, Sept. 7th, 1763.”

him, departed from Johnson Hall, when an event occurred ^{CHAP. X.} which fully proved the justice of the Baronet's reply to the Onondaga orator. On the fourteenth of September, a party of five hundred Senecas, chiefly from Chenussio,¹ lay in wait for a convoy, which, having discharged its cargo at Fort Schlosser, a small post just above the Falls, was slowly returning to the lower landing of the Niagara carrying-place, escorted by a sergeant and twenty-four soldiers. The party had advanced to that portion of the road which forms the brink of the precipice now known as the Devil's Hole, when suddenly the Indians rising from their ambush, poured in a rapid discharge of musketry, and rushing forward with their glittering scalping knives, began the work of butchery. Those who escaped the tomahawk, were driven over the precipice, and with the horses went crashing down among the trees and crags into the yawning chasm. Three only escaped. One, a drummer boy, was caught as he fell, in the friendly branch of a tree, and gliding down the trunk lay hidden at its foot. Another, a wounded driver, concealed in the thick evergreens, also escaped observation; and the third, the officer in command of the convoy, being on horseback, forced his horse through the Indians, and bore the news to Fort Schlosser.

In the meantime, two companies of Colonel Wilmot's regiment, entrenched at the lower landing, and attracted by the firing, hastened to the aid of their comrades. For this movement, the savages were prepared; and as the troops in blind eagerness marched at a double quick step up the road, suddenly every bush, tree, and rock seemed instinct with life, and too late, the detachment saw itself surrounded by the relentless foe. Its compact body found a too easy mark for the unerring rifle, and at the enemy's first volley more than half of the troops bit the dust. The tomahawk and knife again finished the bloody work; and out of the two companies, only eight wounded men escaped with the sad tidings to Fort Niagara. From these two butcheries,

¹ The principal village of the Senecas, about seventy miles east of Niagara.

CHAP. X. —for they can scarcely be called engagements,—the Senecas carried to their wigwams eighty English scalps, including those of six officers. Upon hearing of the massacre, Major Wilkins, the officer in command at Niagara, hastened to the spot with almost his entire garrison, but nothing was to be seen except mangled corpses and bodies impaled upon the tree forks in the chasm below.¹ Notwithstanding the fate of these two detachments, it does not appear that Major Wilkins took any measures to guard his own troops against a surprise; and numerous as the Indians were, had they chosen to have laid another ambush, it is by no means certain that the Major and his command would not have been likewise entirely cut off.

Past experience, however, availed little. On the fifth of November, as a small party of soldiers were cutting wood near the lower landing, they were attacked within sight of that post, and two of their number killed.²

Painted warriors yet sang the war song before Detroit, but not with their former confidence. Shortly after the battle of Bloody Run, the schooner Gladwin succeeded in reaching the fort with a supply of provisions. The garrison were, therefore, in no immediate danger of starvation, and as month after month passed away, the Indians began to despair of success. Indeed had it not been for a few Canadians, who encouraged them with assurances that the king of France was even then on his way to their aid with a large army, they would doubtless have raised the siege early in the fall. But the hopes which had been thus created in the breast of Pontiac were soon blasted. On the thirtieth of October, he received a letter from M. Neyon, the officer yet in command of the Illinois country, telling

¹ Sir William Johnson to the lords of trade, 25th Sept., 1763. Manuscript letter; Sir William Johnson to Lt. Col. Eyre, 13th Oct., 1762.—*Parkman's Pontiac*. The statement given of this massacre by Mary Jemison, is full of gross and glaring errors, another instance of the danger of following tradition as a guide.

² Manuscript letter; De Couagne to Sir William Johnson, 11th Nov., 1763.

him that he could expect no aid from the French, and advising him to bury the hatchet and smoke the pipe of peace with the English. To Pontiac, this was a terrible disappointment. Nor can any one look upon the desolation of the noble chieftain without deep commiseration. All his hopes for the independence of his race were now suddenly extinguished ; while forsaken by those from whom he had confidently expected aid, how could he alone successfully retard the advance of a race, whose contact with his people had produced nothing but disease, vileness, ignominy, and death ! Upon the reception of the message from M. Neyon, the Ojibwas, Wyandots, and Pottawatamies came to Major Gladwin with a peace pipe, humbly begging that he would conclude with them a lasting treaty. Pontiac, however, with his Ottawa chiefs, too proud to sue for peace, sullenly stood aloof, until finding himself deserted by his allies, he raised the siege the middle of November, and departed with the design of forming a new league against the English, between the tribes of the Maumee.

The withdrawal of the savages at this time was exceedingly fortunate. A detachment of six hundred regulars, under Major Wilkins, on their way to the relief of Detroit, were overtaken by a terrific gale when within ninety miles of their destination. Many of the bateaux were sunk ; three officers and seventy men drowned, all the artillery and ammunition lost, and the survivors having turned back, reached Niagara only after much labor and hardship. The departure of Pontiac, however, had enabled the garrison to lay in a plentiful supply of food for the winter ; otherwise the disastrous termination of Major Wilkins's expedition would have been productive of very serious consequences.¹

The close of this year was marked by an event, the record of which forms one of the darkest pages of Penn-

¹ Sir William Johnson to the lords of trade, 20th January, 1764.

CHAP. ^{X.} sylvanian history. The massacre of the Wyoming settlers
 1763. by the Delaware Indians, although it occurred in October of this year, has already been related at length in a previous chapter in connection with the death of Teedeyuscung. This massacre, however, put an end to the residence of the Indians in Wyoming. On the reception of the tidings at Philadelphia, Governor Hamilton directed Colonel Boyd, of Harrisburg, to march at the head of a detachment of militia, and disperse the authors of the massacre. The savages, however, had anticipated the arrival of the troops,—those of them at least who had participated in the murderous transaction,—and withdrawn themselves farther up the river, to the Indian settlements in the vicinity of Tioga. The Moravian Indians resident there, who had taken no part in the massacre, removed toward the Delaware, to Gnaddenhutzen. But their residence at this missionary station was short; for they were soon compelled to repair to Philadelphia for protection; and as will presently appear, were only with great difficulty saved from the hatchets of a lawless band of white men, far more savage than themselves.

The transaction here referred to, took place in December. Although the fragments of the Six Nations still residing in the colony of Pennsylvania did not join in the war of Pontiac, yet either from ignorance or malice, suspicions were excited against one of the Moravian communities. Availing themselves of this pretext, a number of religionists in the towns of Paxtang and Donnegal, excited to a pitch of the wildest enthusiasm by their spiritual teachers, banded together for the purpose of exterminating the whole Indian race. Their pretext was the duty of extirpating the heathen from the earth, as Joshua had done of old, that the saints might possess the land.¹ The Canestogoes were the remains of a small clan of the Six

¹“And when the Lord thy God shall deliver them up before thee, thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them.”—*Deuteronomy vii*, 2.

Nations, residing upon their own reservation in the most inoffensive manner, having always been friendly to the English. The maddened zealots, sixty in number, fell upon their little hamlet in the night, when, as it happened, the greater portion of them were absent from their homes, selling their little wares among the white people. Only three men, two women, and a boy were found in their village. These were dragged from their beds, and stabbed and hatcheted to death. Among them was a good old chief named Shehaes, who was cut to pieces in his bed. The dead were scalped, and their houses burnt. This infamous procedure took place on the fourteenth of the month.¹

Hearing of the deplorable act, the magistrates of Lancaster collected the residue of the helpless clan, men, women and children, and placed them in one of the public buildings of the town for their protection. But on the twenty-seventh, a band of fifty of the fanatics went openly into the borough, and proceeding to the work house where the Indians had been placed, broke open the doors, and with fury in their countenances recommenced the work of death.² Nor did the people of Lancaster lift a finger, or the magistrates interfere for their defence. "When the poor wretches saw they had no protection, and that they could not escape, and being without the least weapon of defence, they divided their little families, the children clinging to their parents; they fell on their faces, protested their innocence, declared their love to the English, and that, in their whole lives, they had never done them any injury; and in this posture they all received the hatchet. Men, women and children—infants clinging to the breast—were all inhumanly butchered in cold blood."³

But the vengeance of the fanatics was not satiated. Like the tigers of the forest, having tasted blood, they became hungry for more; and having heard that the fugitives from

¹ Manuscript letter; John Penn to Sir William Johnson, 31st Dec., 1763.

² *Idem.* Stone's *Wyoming*, 154.

³ Proud. See also Gordon.

CHAP. X. Wyoming, feeling themselves unsafe at Gnaddenhutten, had repaired to Philadelphia, the zealots set their faces in 1763. that direction, and marched upon the capital for the avowed purpose of putting those Indians to death also. Their numbers increased to an insurgent army. Great consternation prevailed in Philadelphia on their approach. Governor Penn wrote to General Gage, who had succeeded General Amherst in November as commander-in-chief, for a body of regulars to protect the city. The poor Indians themselves prayed that they might be sent to England for safety; but this could not be done. An attempt was then made by the government in February, 1764, to send them to the Mohawk country via New York, for the protection of Sir William Johnson. The latter cordially approved of the plan,¹ and they had advanced on their way as far as Amboy, when Lieutenant Governor Colden and his council objecting, the fugitives were marched back to Philadelphia. Whereupon the insurgents embodied themselves again, and marched once more upon that city in greater numbers than before. Another season of peril and alarm ensued, and the governor hid himself away in the house of Dr. Franklin; but the legislature being in session, and the people, the Quakers even not excepted, evincing a proper spirit for the occasion, the insurgents were in the end persuaded to listen to the voice of reason, and disband. It is a singular fact, that the actors in this strange and tragic affair were not of the lower orders of the people. They were Presbyterians, comprising in their ranks men of intelligence, and of so much consideration that the press dared not disclose their names, nor the government attempt their punishment.²

After these disorders were quieted, and the Indian Moravians had had time to look about for a place of retreat, they removed to a place called Mahackloosing—Wyalusing,

¹ Manuscript letter; Sir Wm. Johnson to Governor Penn, 27th Feb., 1764.
 Manuscript letter; Sir Wm. Johnson to Governor Colden, 28th Feb., 1764.

² Proud. Gordon.

in later times—situated upon the Susquehanna, several miles above the Wyoming valley. Here “they built a considerable village, containing at one period more than thirty good log houses, with shingled roofs and glazed windows, a church and a school house, not inferior to many erected by wealthy farmers.” They also turned their attention earnestly to agricultural pursuits, clearing and enclosing large tracts of upland and meadow. They resided at this place several years very happily; but were ultimately induced to join the Moravian Indians beyond the Ohio.¹

¹ Proud. Gordon.

CHAPTER XI.

1764.

CHAP
XI. During the winter and spring, Sir William Johnson was engaged in fitting out parties of Indian braves against the Delaware and Shawanese villages. To prevail on the friendly nations of the Confederacy to go upon the war path was no longer difficult. The unsuccessful attempt of Pontiac upon Detroit, and the numerous conferences held with the Six Nations at Johnson Hall in the winter of 1763, had induced them to throw off their neutrality. An additional incentive, moreover, was given to their zeal by the inducements which the Baronet held out to their prowess; the latter offering in one instance, out of his private purse, fifty dollars each for the heads of the two chief men of the Delawares. Under this stimulant, a party of two hundred Tuscaroras and Oneidas, under the command of Captain Montour, left their castles in the middle of February, with the intention of falling upon the towns of the Delawares and Shawanese lying near the forks and branches of the Ohio and Susquehanna. When in the vicinity of the main branch of the latter river, on the twenty-sixth of July, they ascertained that a party of forty Delawares, under the command of Captain Bull, a son of the ill-fated Teedyuscung, was encamped in the neighborhood on their way to attack the English settlements. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, they marched stealthily upon the camp, and surrounding it at daybreak, rushed upon the Delawares, who, completely surprised, offered no resistance, and were all captured.¹ The prisoners were

¹ Manuscript letter; Sir William Johnson to Col. Bradstreet, 2d March, 1764.

immediately bound and taken under a strong guard, by way of Fort Stanwix, to Johnson Hall, whence, for greater security, Captain Bull and thirteen of his braves were sent to New York and lodged in the jail, the remainder being distributed among the Confederates to replace their deceased relatives. Shortly afterward another party, led by Joseph Brant, surprised a band of Delaware warriors, killing their chief and taking three prisoners. Nor did they return to their homes, until they had burned the town of Kanestio, and six other large villages lying on the head waters of the Susquehanna.

As the Baronet had anticipated, the mere fact of the Confederates taking up the hatchet in favor of the English, struck terror into the hostile tribes. Those of the Delawares whose castles had been destroyed were in despair, and in their dismay fled to the Seneca village of Chenussio for protection. The Senecas were also dispirited; and fearing the destruction of their own castles, sent, early in April, a deputation of four hundred of their chief men to Johnson Hall to sue for peace.

Had the policy of Sir Jeffrey Amherst toward this nation been carried out by the Baronet, far from their request for peace being granted, they would have been treated with great severity; their castles destroyed, and themselves rendered an implacable foe, and the scourge of the border for years. Happily, however, Amherst had now left the province, and Sir William was at liberty to follow out the peaceful policy, which he ever deemed the most judicious, except in cases of great emergency.¹ The visit of the deputies was therefore made the occasion by the superintendent, to reap important advantages for the English, as the conditions upon which peace would be granted. The preliminary articles of the treaty stipulated that the Senecas should at once stop hostilities and engage never

¹ It is true that Johnson was responsible to General Gage as the successor of Amherst, but Gage deferred in all matters of Indian policy entirely to the superintendent.

CHAP. again to make war upon the English ; that they should
 XI. deliver up at Johnson Hall all their prisoners, within
 1764. three months after the signing of the articles ; that they
 should cede to his majesty the Niagara carrying place, and
 should agree to allow the free passage of troops through
 their country ; and, finally, that they should renounce all
 intercourse with the Delawares and Shawanese, and assist
 the English in bringing them to punishment. Should
 these preliminary articles be strictly adhered to, Sir Wil-
 liam agreed, in the name of his majesty, to grant them a
 full pardon for all past offences, and leave them in the
 quiet enjoyment of all their rights ; he also promised them
 that upon their signing a definite treaty of peace to be
 concluded hereafter at Niagara, they should be admitted
 again into the covenant chain, and share all the benefits
 arising from a free and open trade with the English. To
 all these articles the deputies cheerfully agreed ; and leaving
 three of their principal chiefs as hostages for their faithful
 performance, they departed to their homes sincerely peni-
 tent for their past misconduct.¹

Meanwhile two expeditions were fitting out under the
 direction of General Gage for the thorough chastisement
 of those tribes that still refused to make peace with the
 English. The first of these expeditions, under Colonel
 Bouquet, was to act against the Delaware and Shawanese
 villages west of the Ohio, and to march by way of Fort
 Pitt ; and the other, under Colonel Bradstreet, was to
 advance by way of Lakes Ontario and Erie to Detroit, and
 while it relieved Major Gladwin, was to infuse into the
 neighboring tribes a wholesome fear of the English. It
 was intended that the troops which were to compose these
 expeditions should be raised by the colonies ; and in view
 of this, General Amherst, before he left America, had
 made requisitions upon the several provincial governors.

¹ Articles of peace concluded with the Seneca Indians.—*N. Y. Col. Doc.*
vol. vii., p. 621.

To this request, the general assembly of New York did not respond with alacrity. In the fall session of 1763, ^{CHAP. XI.} Lieutenant Governor Colden, the acting governor, in place ^{1764.} of Monekton who had returned to England, demanded fourteen hundred men. In answer to this, however, the legislature voted at the time but three hundred; and in April of the present year, it provided for only one hundred and eighty additional troops, so that New York had scarcely five hundred men in the field.¹ The assemblies of New England, New Jersey and Pennsylvania were equally backward. It was, therefore, with feelings of deep chagrin that Colonel Bradstreet found himself in the spring, with an army of but fourteen hundred Provincials, including three hundred Canadians.² The colonel had designed leaving Albany with his troops the first of April. The tardiness however, of the Connecticut levies under the command of Israel Putnam, caused a delay of several weeks; so that it was not until the end of June that he was able to advance to Oswego, and thence to Niagara.

The character which is given of Colonel Bradstreet by Mr. Parkman in his *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, is eminently just. Although Bradstreet was a brave man, and had performed a signal service in the late war, by the capture of Fort Frontenac, yet he was vain, headstrong, imperious and flighty—qualities which illy fitted him for the conduct of an expedition, wherein was required patience and sound judgment, rather than brilliant and dashing bravery. The result, as well as the conduct of the expedition which will hereafter appear, shows how incompetent he was to have its command.

While these two expeditions were in course of preparation, the Baronet, through Indian runners, notified all the tribes coming within his jurisdiction, of the intended advance of the English armies; requesting, at the same

¹ Journals of the Assembly.

² Manuscript letter; Bradstreet to Amherst, 6th April, 1764.

CHAP. time, all who were desirous of becoming reconciled to the
XI. English to meet him at Niagara in July. His messages
764. were received with peculiar favor. Many of those nations
who had joined Pontiac, seeing now the utter hopelessness
of his cause, eagerly embraced this opportunity of making
friends with the English; while others again, partly from
curiosity and still more by the hope of receiving presents,
looked forward to the meeting at Niagara with pleasure.

The trader, Alexander Henry, to whom allusion has
heretofore been made, gives in his travels an account of
the reception of one of Sir William's messengers by a
wandering tribe of the Objibwas, of which he was an eye-
witness. A council having been called, the messenger
with a belt of wampum thus spoke: "My friends and
brothers, I am come with this belt from our great father,
Sir William Johnson. He desired me to come to you, as
his ambassador, and tell you that he is making a great feast
at Fort Niagara; that his kettles are all ready and his fires
lighted. He invites you to partake of the feast, in common
with your friends, the Six Nations, who have all made
peace with the English. He advises you to seize this
opportunity of doing the same, as you cannot otherwise
fail of being destroyed; for the English are on their march
with a great army, which will be joined by different nations
of Indians. In a word, before the fall of the leaf they
will be at Michillimackinac, and the Six Nations with them."

The superior intelligence of the Iroquois Confederacy
to the tribes of the Algonquin stock, appears, perhaps, no
more clearly, than in the manner in which the Objibwas
received this communication. Had the Onondagas, for
instance, received a similar invitation, their course would
have been to recommend a council of all the nations of
the Confederacy, probably at Onondaga; and the expedi-
ency of either rejecting or accepting it having been dis-
cussed in a rational manner, an answer in accordance with
their decision would have been given. Such a proceeding,
however, was too simple a one for the superstitious Objibwa.

Before an answer could be given to so important a communication, the Great Turtle, "the chief of all the spirits," must be consulted through their medicine man. CHAP.
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1764.

The answer of the oracle was favorable; for having probably in view the many presents of tobacco and rum that were to be obtained by a visit to Niagara, he told them that "Sir William Johnson would fill their canoes with presents; with blankets, kettles, guns, gun powder and shot, and large barrels of rum, such as the stoutest of the Indians would not be able to lift; and that every man would return in safety to his family." It may readily be supposed that a response so congenial to their inclinations was hailed with delight; and amid the general joy, "many voices were heard to exclaim, "I will go too! I will go too!"¹

The Baronet arrived at Oswego, on his way to Niagara, the twenty-sixth of June, accompanied by five hundred and fifty Indians, who, at his request, were on their way to join the army under Colonel Bradstreet. Stopping a few days to attend to some private matters, and also to condole with the Onondagas upon the death of Red Head, who had fallen down dead in the fort a few days before his arrival, he sailed from Oswego on the third of July, arriving at Niagara on the eighth.

The sight which greeted him as he stepped from his boat upon the sandy beach, must have been peculiarly gratifying to his self-love. In response to his invitations, he beheld, far stretched across the fields, the wigwams of over a thousand Indians, whose number, but a few days after his arrival, was increased to two thousand and sixty, of whom seventeen hundred were warriors.² Deputations from all the nations dwelling in that vast region lying between the pine forests of Nova Scotia and the head springs of the Mississippi, were here assembled. Ottawas and Hurons, Chippewas and Caughnawagas, Sacs and

¹ Parkman.

² Sir William Johnson to the lords of trade, 30th Aug., 1764.

CHAP. Foxes, picturesquely attired, strolled in groups about the
 XI. fort; while here and there might be seen an Indian from
 1764. tribes that trapped the beaver on the margin of Hudson's Bay, and hunted the moose on the northern shores of Lake Superior. The Sioux and Pottawattamies alone were absent,—the former having been kept away by the feud existing between their nation and the Chippewas, and the latter, conscious of their previous conduct, afraid of trusting themselves in the power of the English.¹ Of the Six Nations the Senecas alone were not prompt.² This arose not from any hostile feelings, but because they were doubtful whether their brother Warraghiyagey would really forgive their past misconduct.³ A few Mohawks were accordingly dispatched to assure them that their fears were unfounded, and hasten their coming.

Although the feelings of this motley assemblage were as friendly as could be expected, when in the hearts of many, the embers of rebellion were still smouldering, yet it required adroit management on the part of the Baronet, backed by the guns of the fort, to prevent an open rupture. Indeed an incident which occurred at this time threatened for a little while to thwart all his efforts. It seems that a small party of Indians on their way to Niagara, in passing one of the posts on the carrying place, sang their war song, and fired their guns by way of a salute to the garrison. The commander of the post, mistaking this piece of Indian military etiquette for a hostile movement, discharged a cannon loaded with grape shot among them, wounding three of the party.⁴ Fortunately none were killed, otherwise the affair would have been productive of very serious consequences. As it was, the Indians were at first disposed to resent it, suspecting foul play, and that it was only a

¹ Manuscript letter; Sir William Johnson to Alex. Colden, 23d Aug, 1764.

² The Six Nations, with the exception of the Senecas, attended this meeting merely as spectators.

³ Manuscript letter; Johnson to Gage, 5th Aug., 1764.

⁴ Manuscript letter; Sir William Johnson to Gen. Gage, 29th June, 1764.

prelude to a general attack; and it was not until many explanations had been given that harmony was restored. CHAP.
XI.

While waiting for the delinquent Senecas, the Baronet, 1764. upon the eighteenth of July, concluded a treaty with the Hurons. The basis of the treaty was similar in its chief features to the preliminary articles of peace entered into with the Senecas in April. They pledged themselves to abstain from any future hostilities, and to deliver up within one month to Major Gladwin all of their prisoners; they moreover promised to treat all tribes inimical to the English as common enemies, and agreed to protect the navigation of the passage from Lake Erie to Detroit. But by far the most important article in the treaty was the fourth, by which they ceded to the crown of Great Britain the right and title to all the lands lying on both sides of the strait from their village to Lake St Clair, in as full and ample a manner as they were ever claimed or enjoyed by the French. In consideration of which they were guaranteed a free and open trade with the English, and were restored to all their former privileges.¹

The Seneca deputies arrived on the first day of August, bringing with them fourteen English captives and one deserter. In the conference which Sir William held with them upon the day of their arrival, he reproved them sharply for detaining the company so long, and told them that as a punishment for their tardiness, they would not be allowed to take up the time as usual in preparatory ceremonies, but that they must come at once to the point, and declare whether they would or would not fulfill their engagements made last April.² In reply to this rebuke, they answered without hesitation, that although they had "scarcely had time to draw their breath, having just arrived," yet they wished him to understand that they had come fully prepared to fulfill every promise made by them last spring,

¹ Original manuscript; "Articles of peace concluded by Sir William Johnson with the Hurons of the Detroit, Niagara, 18th July, 1764."

² Manuscript proceedings at Niagara, 1764.

CHAP. and to enter into a firm and enduring peace. A formal
 XI. treaty was thereupon drawn up between their nation and
 1764. the English, and signed by the superintendent and the
 deputies on the sixth of August. The preliminaries which
 had been signed by their deputies at Johnson Hall were
 made the basis of the treaty. In addition, however, to
 the grant made by them at that time, of the land from
 Fort Niagara to the upper end of the carrying place, they
 now relinquished a strip of land of the same breadth from
 Fort Schlosser to the rapids of Lake Erie; and thus a tract
 of land four miles in width on either side of the river from
 Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, was vested in the British crown.
 This land, however, was given with the express proviso,
 that as it was near their hunting grounds, it should be for
 the sole use of his majesty and his garrisons, and should
 never become private property. An exception, moreover,
 was made in this grant to the islands lying in the Niagara
 river. These they begged the Baronet to accept as a slight
 compensation for the trouble which their nation had given
 him. The latter, unwilling to refuse for fear of the ill
 effects which might arise from it, accepted the gift; and as
 the islands—one of which was estimated to contain fifteen
 thousand acres—contained land well adapted for grazing,
 he in turn ceded them to his sovereign for the use of the
 cattle of the garrisons.¹

During the negotiations, the Senecas stated that those
 Delawares who had fled to Chenussio for protection were
 also desirous of entering into a treaty with the English.
 The Baronet, however, refused to treat with them upon
 any terms, until they had delivered up their king, and
 Squash Cutter their chief warrior, together with all the
 prisoners in their possession. These conditions the Sene-
 cas agreed to see performed, and to prove their sincerity, it
 was made a special article in the present treaty that they

¹ Articles of peace between Sir Wm. Johnson and the Genesee Indians.—
N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. vii, p. 652. *Sir Wm. Johnson to the Earl of Halifax*,
 30th Aug, 1764.

should leave in his hands two of their own chiefs as hostages for its performance. The treaty was thereupon ratified, the covenant chain brightened; all past transgressions forgiven, and their nation received into the full enjoyment of all their rights and possessions.¹

Although numerous councils were held with the Indians, yet no formal treaty was made with any tribe except the Hurons and Senecas. The other nations declared that they only came to renew their engagements, not having approved of the war, or engaged in it; and they therefore very shrewdly refused to enter into a treaty, as by that act they would have virtually admitted the falsity of their story. It was useless to question their veracity, and they were therefore all received into the covenant chain upon their agreeing to the reestablishment of Michillimackinac, and promising moreover to indemnify the traders for their losses since the beginning of hostilities.² Everything at length having been arranged to the satisfaction of the Indians, and medals having been distributed to those of the Confederates that had proved throughout the war their fidelity, the Baronet set out on his return the sixth of August. The passage down Wood creek from Oneida lake was attended with much difficulty. The creek was so low that staunch boats were unable to come up, and the Baronet's thigh not allowing him to ride, he was forced to make the rest of his journey in a leaky boat, with no covering, and exposed to a pelting rain during the whole trip. He however reached Johnson Hall on the nineteenth of August, and immediately inserted in the public prints,

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to Gage, 5th Aug., 1764. Johnson to the lords of trade, 30th Aug., 1764.

² "A treaty was only made with the Hurons and Senecas, and the covenant chain received for the other Indians."—*Manuscript letter; Sir Wm. Johnson to Gen. Gage, 22d Aug., 1764. Sir Wm. Johnson to the lords of trade, 30th Aug., 1764.* Some writers, Parkman among them, have stated that "separate treaties were made with each individual band." This however, was not the case.

CHAP. for the benefit of their relatives, a description of all the
XI } prisoners who had been rescued by him from captivity.

1764. The peace thus made with the Indians, diffused general joy throughout the province; and Lieutenant Governor Colden, in his opening message on the fourth of September, failed not to congratulate the assembly upon the peace lately concluded at Niagara, "through the ability, experience and zealous efforts of Sir William Johnson." But while the meeting at Niagara promised to be of benefit, other measures were still required before Indian relations could be placed on a permanent basis. "To render this peace lasting," wrote the Baronet to the lords of trade shortly after his return home, "I know no methods better than to conquer their prejudices by our generosity. They will then lay aside their prejudices, and we may rest in security."

On the same day that the Baronet embarked for Oswego on his homeward voyage, Colonel Bradstreet left Fort Niagara for Detroit. His army was now increased by three hundred Iroquois, under John Johnson and Henry Montour, and also by nearly a hundred Ojibwas and Mississaugas, who were under the command of Alexander Henry. These latter allies, however, availed little; for while the army was still at Fort Schlosser, taking offense at the sternness of the discipline, they deserted one night in a body. On the eighth of August, the army embarked in their boats from Fort Schlosser, but when in the vicinity of Presque Isle, they were obliged in consequence of a violent storm to go ashore and encamp. While waiting for the storm to cease, Colonel Bradstreet was visited by ten Indians, who pretended to have been sent by the Delawares and Shawanese to sue for peace. These pretended deputies were at once declared by the Indian allies to be spies, and in confirmation of this, they pointed out to Colonel Bradstreet several proofs, among others, that they had brought with them only one belt of wampum with which to ratify

the treaty. They therefore requested that he would either allow them to be killed, or that at least he would hold no intercourse with them. To this latter suggestion, however, the colonel gave no heed, and in defiance of the well known character of their nations for treachery and cruelty, he held with the spies a preliminary treaty in which he promised to forbear marching against their castles as he had intended, provided that all their prisoners should be delivered up to him at Sandusky within the ensuing twenty-five days, and that they should then and there ratify a firm and lasting treaty.¹

The conduct of Colonel Bradstreet in this affair was inexcusable, and could only have been prompted by excessive vanity. Even had the deputies been duly accredited, his instructions gave him no authority to conclude a peace.² His orders from General Gage directed him in the most positive terms to attack the Shawanese and Delawares,³ and in case those tribes made submission, to *offer*, but not to conclude peace, a power, which, by virtue of his being his majesty's sole agent and superintendent of Indian affairs, was lodged in Sir William Johnson alone.⁴ The allies, as

¹ Original manuscript minutes of a treaty of peace between Colonel Bradstreet and the Delawares and Shawanese, concluded at the camp at L'Ance aux Fenilles, Aug. 4, 1764.

² "I herewith send you a most astonishing treaty of peace, which Colonel Bradstreet *has taken upon himself to conclude* with the Shawanese and Delawares, which contains no one article whereby the least satisfaction is given for the many horrid murders committed by those barbarians, the sole promoters and contrivers of all our troubles, and the chief actors in the bloody tragedy. I know not on what foundation he builds, to imagine himself empowered to conclude any peace and dictate the articles thereof, agreeable to his own judgment. He has lately seen you, his majesty's *sole agent and superintendent of Indian affairs at Niagara on the business of peace*. He might perhaps be empowered to consent to a suspension of arms, and refer them to you to settle and conclude the peace, but he has taken the whole upon himself."—*Manuscript letter; Gage to Johnson, 2d Sept., 1764.*

³ *Idem.*

⁴ "To *offer peace*, I think can never be construed a power to *conclude and dictate the articles of peace*, and you certainly know that no such power could with propriety be lodged in any person but in Sir William Johnson, his

CHAP. it afterward appeared, were entirely correct in their sus-
 XI. picion; for while Bradstreet was signing the treaty with
 1764. the treacherous deputies, the tomahawks and scalping
 knives of the Shawanese and Delawares were even then
 reeking with the warm blood of the settlers along the
 Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers. As soon as the pre-
 liminary articles of the treaty were signed, the colonel,
 without even waiting until he should see if the promises of
 the deputies were faithfully kept, wrote to Colonel Bouquet
 to the effect that Indian affairs were now amicably adjusted,
 and that he might disband his troops, as his aid was no
 longer required. Colonel Bouquet, however, who had
 advanced as far as Fort Loudoun when this important mes-
 sage arrived, treated it with the slight that it deserved, and
 continued his march, having first written to Gage that the
 conditions of the treaty were so disgraceful, that he should
 continue his operations until he received orders from him
 to the contrary.

But in other respects, the conduct of Colonel Bradstreet
 was extremely culpable. By his harsh treatment of his
 Indian allies, he completely alienated that branch of his
 army. During the whole expedition he seemed to be
 guided by no fixed purpose, and frequently by his flighty
 and strange conduct gave serious offense. Often, after
 stating to his army that he should encamp so long at a cer-
 tain place, suddenly, without any emergency or necessity
 having arisen, he would give orders to move directly; so
 that in several instances many Indians, who had gone out
 in pursuit of game, returned within the appointed time, only
 to find the smouldering embers of the deserted camp fires.
 They were therefore obliged to pursue the rest of the
 journey on foot, and several of them reached Detroit half
 starved. At other times, when asked by the Indian officers
 (when the boats were crowded) how they and the Indians
 should be transported, he would reply in a surly and pro-

majesty's sole agent and superintendent for Indian affairs."—*Manuscript letter; Gage to Bradstreet, 2d Sept. 1764.*

fane manner, "that they might swim and be damned."¹ CHAP. XI. It may therefore readily be seen that an officer who conducted himself in such a manner was not calculated to win the confidence of his men; and thus as a natural result, quarrels and insubordination were constantly arising throughout the whole of the expedition. 1764.

At Sandusky, Bradstreet was again beguiled by the fair promises of the Ottawas, Wyandots and Miami's residing near that post, although his orders were to give them a thorough chastisement. While here, Captain Morris was dispatched with a few Canadians and Indians into the very heart of the Illinois country, to induce Pontiac and the tribes residing in that vicinity to sue for peace. The sending of this officer at this time, before Indian relations had been amicably settled, was certainly very rash and in bad policy. Pontiac, it was well known, was still chafing and raging at his ill successes, and yet Captain Morris, with only a few attendants—some of them of doubtful loyalty—was sent to beard the enraged tiger in its very den. His mission, as might have been foreseen, was productive of no good, and he, himself, after owing his life to the singular forbearance of the Ottawa chieftain, was allowed to depart, having been robbed of everything except his arms, clothing and canoe. Cononel Bradstreet has been called an "excellent officer." He may have been; but his allowing Morris thus uselessly to peril his life does not indicate extraordinary military judgment.

On the twenty-sixth of August, the hearts of Major Gladwin and his brother officers were gladdened by the sight of the long expected succors, and Detroit was at once supplied with a fresh garrison. A council was next held on the seventh of September, and in defiance of express instructions, a definite treaty of peace was concluded with a few Ottawas, Ojibwas, Pottawattamies and other neigh-

¹ Manuscript paper containing remarks upon, and details of Bradstreet's conduct during this campaign, and drawn up by the officers who served under him, and taken down by Sir Wm. Johnson.

CHAP. boring tribes. Leaving out of view, however, the question
 XI. of Bradstreet's authority, the treaty itself shows his
 1764. ignorance of the character of those with whom he was
 dealing, and how incompetent, therefore, he was to its
 performance. "It is a peace," writes Gage to Johnson,
 "derogatory to the honor and reputation of his majesty's
 arms amongst the Indian nations, unsafe for the future
 peace and tranquility of his majesty's subjects, and is a
 basis of future massacres."¹ In the treaty, moreover, he
 spoke of the Indians as *subjects*, an appellation that the
 Indians never would have accepted had they understood
 its true signification.² "You may be assured," wrote the
 Baronet to Gage upon hearing of this treaty, "that none
 of the Six Nations or Western Indians ever declared them-
 selves *subjects*, or will ever consider themselves in that
 light, while they have any men or an open country to retire
 to. The very idea of subjection would fill them with
 horror."³

As soon as the treaty was ratified by the different chiefs,
 Captain Howard was sent with a considerable force to
 regarrison Michillimackinac and the more remote posts of
 Green Bay and Sault St. Marie; and Colonel Bradstreet,
 having again succeeded in disgusting his red allies by con-
 ducting the council through a French interpreter, and also
 by chopping to pieces with a tomahawk a belt of wampum,
 with which he had just been addressed by a messenger
 from Pontiac,⁴ hastened back to Sandusky to meet the

¹ Manuscript letter; 2d Sept., 1764.

² Original manuscript treaty between Col. Bradstreet and the Pottawttamies, Ottawas, Chippewas and Miamis, Detroit, Sept. 7, 1764.

"I don't know what to think of this new treaty of Colonel Bradstreet. He seems to tell them they are all subjects, and that the king has dominion over all their country. Was not this formerly ill taken by the Six Nations, who never would be called subjects but allies: and this dominion over their country, will it not confirm them in their opinion of our designs, to have all their lands?"—*Manuscript letter: Gage to Johnson, 14th Oct., 1764.*

³ Manuscript letter: Johnson to Gage, 31st Oct., 1764.

⁴ "Had anything *effectual* been prosecuted against him" [Pontiac] wrote Johnson to Gage, "the circumstance of cutting the belt would have appeared

Shawanese and Delaware deputies. As might have been expected, the appointed day came but not the deputies, and while, chagrined at their breach of faith, he was still awaiting their appearance, he received a letter from the commander-in-chief annulling the treaty that he had made at Presque Isle, and commanding him to march forthwith against the enemy. Enraged and mortified at this rebuke, he refused to obey the instructions of Gage, alleging that his Indian allies declined accompanying him, and also that the Sandusky river—the route to Scioto plains where lay the hostile castles—was too low for the passage of the boats. The Indians, it is true, disgusted at his conduct, did refuse to go alone, but expressed their willingness to accompany the army, who in good spirits and impatient of their continued inactivity, eagerly desired a brush with the savages. Finally, after consuming much time in building a fort upon a piece of ground that was so low as to be overflowed by every freshet, he suddenly on the eighteenth of October, gave orders to embark for Niagara. His departure was marked by a piece of cruelty which was wanton in the last degree inasmuch as nothing had occurred that justified the hasty embarkation. Two New Jersey soldiers and five Indians, who had been sent out to catch fish for his table, were still absent when the orders were given to embark. The officers remonstrated, and begged that the departure of the army might be delayed an hour or two longer, or at least that he would allow a boat to be left for their use. To this request, however, Bradstreet replied with an oath “that the soldiers might stay there, but not a boat should wait for them a minute.” No garrison having been left in the partially erected fort,¹ the poor

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1763.

well enough, but since that was all we did, he must think little of us,”—an act of impotent rage, it only disgusted.

¹ It has been generally stated by writers that the soldiers were out for game for the *officers*; but from original manuscript statements of the officers themselves in my possession, it appears that they were out for *Bradstreet himself*.

CHAP. soldiers when they arrived, had no alternative but to either
 XI. throw themselves upon the tender mercies of the savages,
 1764. or to perish miserably in the wilderness.

The sequel of the expedition was singularly unfortunate. When a few days out from Sandusky, and about to encamp for the night, Colonel Bradstreet, instead of landing at the mouth of a neighboring river, where the boats could have lain in safety, persisted in disembarking at a spot which, it was told him, was visited by heavy surfs. The result of this obstinacy was, that a heavy storm arising, twenty-five of the batteaux were dashed to pieces, and most of the ammunition and baggage lost, together with the field train of six brass cannon. A hundred and fifty men were therefore compelled to make the journey to Niagara on foot, through a wilderness of four hundred miles, filled with savage men and savage beasts, and crossed by deep rivers and fearful morasses. Many perished on the way, and those who finally reached Niagara were spent with fatigue, cold and hunger. On the fourth day of November, the main body of the army, weary and shattered, entered the gates of Niagara. Stragglers continued to come in day after day; nor was it until the last of December, that all the survivors reached their homes.¹

With the exception of supplying Detroit with a fresh garrison, and the reoccupation of Michillimackinac and the further posts, the expedition had accomplished nothing. Its main object—that of punishing the Shawanese, Delawares and other tribes—was still unaccomplished. None of the rebellious tribes had yet been brought to feel the power of the English; and the expedition, instead of inspiring dread in the hearts of the savages, had elicited only ridicule. The pacific efforts of Sir William Johnson at Niagara, which had been aided in no slight degree by the prospect of the advancing army, were to a great extent

¹ Manuscript remarks on the conduct of Colonel Bradstreet. Manuscript letter; Johnson to Lt. Col. Eyre, Dec. 17th, 1764. Manuscript Johnson papers. Johnson to the lords of trade, 26th Dec., 1764.

rendered abortive. "Since I have had the pleasure of knowing you," wrote Gage, in relation to the failure of the expedition, to the Baronet, "you have been as much employed to patch up and mend what others have put out of order, as in the ordinary course of your business. I fear that will be the case now, and that you must still have conferences with all the savages of Detroit, to put matters in a right channel."¹

While Colonel Bradstreet was concluding useless treaties with the western nations, the controversy between New York and New Hampshire in relation to their boundary line, was at its height. It has already been mentioned, in connection with the congress held at Albany in 1754, that the charters of the colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay were of a very liberal and uncertain character. The charter granted to the Plymouth company in 1620—from which was derived that of Connecticut,—covered the expanse from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of northern latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. New York, or more properly the New Netherlands, being then a Dutch possession, could not, however, be claimed as a portion of these grants, as an exception was made of all territory "then actually possessed by any other Christian prince or state." The dispute concerning the Wyoming lands was not the only one to which the indefinite phraseology of the charters had given rise. Upon the conquest of the New Netherlands by the Duke of York, in 1664, controversies immediately arose between that province and those of Connecticut and Massachusetts bay. These disputes, however, were subsequently adjusted by negotiation and compromise—the commissioners agreeing that the boundary between New York and Connecticut and Massachusetts, should be a line drawn north and south, twenty miles east of the Hudson river. Hardly had the controversy been thus settled, when New Hampshire, with-

¹ Manuscript letter; 31st Oct., 1764.

CHAP. out the least justice or title, insisted upon having the same
 XI. western boundary as her sister colonies. The people of
 1764. New York, who had yielded to the decision of the commissioners with a very bad grace, were in no mood to brook further encroachments upon their territory, and they therefore boldly protested against this assumption of New Hampshire.

Protests, however, availed little. In 1749, Benning Wentworth, at that time Governor of New Hampshire, granted a township six miles square within the territory claimed by New York, and which, in honor of the governor, was named Bennington. This grant was the occasion of a lengthy correspondence between Wentworth and Clinton, and renewed protests on the part of the latter. Protests and letters, however, were alike unheeded by the governor of New Hampshire, who intent upon increasing his private fortune, continued in defiance of all right to issue patents to those who wished and could afford to pay for them. Such persons were not few. A road, which had been cut through the wilderness from Lake Champlain to Charlestown in New Hampshire by Amherst as a means of communication with Crown Point, had revealed the richness of the land. Many therefore hastened to purchase, and during the year 1761, no less than sixty patents were issued, a number that in 1763, had been increased to one hundred and thirty-eight. At length justly alarmed at the growing audacity of Wentworth, and having written a letter to him with no effect, Lieutenant Governor Colden, on the eighteenth of December, 1763, issued a proclamation, in which the grant of Charles the Second to the duke of York, was recited; the jurisdiction of New York as far eastward as the Connecticut river, asserted; and the sheriff of Albany county enjoined to return the names of all persons, who by virtue of the New Hampshire grants, held possession of lands westward of that river.¹ This was answered three months after on the

¹ Belknap.

thirteenth of March, by a counter proclamation from Gov-
 ernor Wentworth, declaring that the grant to the duke of
 York was void, and that the grantees should be encouraged
 in the possession of their lands. CHAP.
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Meanwhile, the assembly, through their agent Mr. Charles, laid the question in dispute before the board of trade, setting forth in their petition, "that it would be greatly to the advantage of the people settled on those lands to be annexed to New York." The result was, that on the twentieth of July, 1764, an order was made by the king in council, declaring "the western banks of Connecticut river, from where it enters the province of Massachusetts bay, as far north as the forty-fifth degree of latitude, *to be* the boundary line, between the two provinces of New Hampshire and New York." This decision of the crown was received by the latter province in September, with great satisfaction. Had the matter been allowed to rest here, all would have been well; Governor Wentworth in obedience to the royal authority, ceased issuing patents westward of the Connecticut river; and those who had settled upon the grants, were indifferent as to which government received their allegiance, provided they could cultivate their lands in quietness. No sooner however, was this decision received, than the government of New York chose to interpret the words *to be* as referring to past time, and construed them as a virtual admission that the Connecticut river always had been the eastern boundary of its province. It therefore declared that the grants from Wentworth were invalid, and insisted that the grantees either should surrender or repurchase the lands upon which they had settled and in many instances improved. To this unjust demand the majority of the settlers refused to accede. Notwithstanding which the governor of New York regranted their lands anew to others, who forthwith brought ejectment suits against them and obtained judgments at the courts of Albany. All attempts however, to enforce these judgments thus obtained, were met by the settlers

CHAP. with a spirited resistance. The civil officers sent to eject
 XI. them “were seized by the people, and severely chastised
 1764. with *twigs* of the wilderness”; and a proclamation from Governor Tryon offering a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds for the apprehension of Ethan Allen, the principal offender, was met by a burlesque proclamation from the latter, offering five pounds for the attorney general of the colony of New York.

Thus arose that fierce controversy between the hardy Green Mountain Boys and the authorities of New York, which lasting with great violence for twenty-six years, was finally terminated by the long disputed New Hampshire grants being, in 1791, received into the federal union as the state of Vermont.¹

The effect of Colonel Bradstreet’s ill-starred expedition was in a measure counteracted by the success of the one under Colonel Bouquet. In the early part of October, that officer left Fort Pitt with one thousand Provincials and five hundred regulars, and after a march of ten days through a trackless wilderness, encamped on the banks of the Muskingum near the deserted wigwams of a Tuscarora village, whose inhabitants had fled at his approach. The advance of Colonel Bouquet into the very heart of their country, filled the Shawanese and Delawares with alarm. Their experience at Bushy Run the previous year, had taught them that the man with whom they now had to deal, was made of different stuff from the officer whom they had so lately cajoled on the shores of Lake Erie. They felt that their temporizing policy would no longer answer, and that the time had come when they must either submit or be exterminated. Two men, who had been seized by the Delawares on their way to Bradstreet with letters from Bouquet, were therefore now brought into the camp charged with a message to the effect that their chiefs would soon come and conclude a treaty of

¹ Belknap. Allen’s Narrative. Slade’s Vermont State Papers.

peace. Accordingly, a few days after, a deputation of the head chiefs of the Delawares, Shawanese, and a Seneca tribe settled on the Ohio, made their appearance at the camp, bringing with them eighteen of their captives. The remaining prisoners, they said, should be brought in as soon as they could be collected. CHAP.
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1764.

In his reply to their speech, in which the whole responsibility of their past conduct was thrown upon the western nations, Bouquet was stern, and unyielding. He told them plainly that their behavior was without excuse, and that he saw through all their subterfuges. He then entered into a relation of their past treachery and their numerous murders of the traders, while they were yet in a state of professed peace; their attacking Fort Pitt, and those other posts that had been built with their permission; and their black treachery in the massacre of those garrisons that had surrendered. They had refused, moreover, to attend the meeting at Niagara in July, and while their former allies, the Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Wyandots, were suing for peace, they, the most relentless and inhuman of savages, were committing their horrid butcheries upon the frontiers. They were then given to understand, that it would be owing entirely to the clemency of the English, if their nations were not utterly exterminated, and that their treatment in future would depend solely upon their behavior. "I now," concluded he, "give you twelve days from this date to deliver into my hands all the prisoners in your possession, without exception; Englishmen, Frenchmen, women and children; whether adopted into your tribes, married or living among you under any denomination or pretense whatever. And you are to furnish these with clothing, provision, and horses, to carry them to Fort Pitt. When you have fully complied with these conditions, you shall then know on what terms you may obtain the peace you sue for."

This serious rebuke, and the determined character of the man who now addressed them, were sufficient. The

CHAP. chiefs now really anxious to conciliate, hastened to send
XI. to Bouquet their prisoners. Every day added a few more
1764. to the number, until in a short time there were nearly two hundred in the camp. A few captives were still among the Indians, but as they belonged to warriors away from their homes and could not be brought in without their permission, the chiefs delivered up some of their own people as hostages for their future surrender. Then and not till then, did Bouquet relax the sternness which he had hitherto purposely assumed in his dealings with the rebellious chieftains. But now convinced of their sincerity, he consented to hold friendly communications with them. The answer of the colonel to their request for peace was right manly, and spoke the true soldier. "The king, my master," said he, "has commissioned me, not to make treaties for him, but to fight his battles; and though I now offer you peace, it is not in my power to settle its precise terms and conditions. For this, I refer you to Sir William Johnson, his majesty's agent and superintendent for Indian affairs, who will settle with you the articles of peace and determine every thing in relation to trade." They were then required to deliver up additional hostages for their good faith, and as a pledge that they would send to the superintendent a deputation of their chiefs, who should be fully authorized to treat in behalf of their nation.

These conditions, which, it will hereafter appear, were faithfully performed, were readily agreed to and the required hostages at once given. The main objects of the expedition having been thus successfully accomplished, Colonel Bouquet, with two hundred of the rescued captives and fourteen hostages, returned to Fort Pitt on the twenty-eighth of November, to receive from his sovereign the appointment of brigadier, and the command of the southern department.¹

¹ Parkman. Manuscript letter Johnson to Lieut. Col. Eyre 17 Dec. 1764. Johnson to the lords of trade 26 Dec. 1764.

The closing year brought no relaxation to the labors of the Baronet. “I have at present,” he writes in December, “every room in my house full of Indians, and the prospect before me of continual business all the winter, as the Shawanese and Delawares may be expected in a few days.”

CHAP.
XI.

1764.

CHAPTER XII.

1765.

CHAP.
XII.

1765.

Although much had been accomplished by the expedition under Colonel Bouquet, yet Indian hostilities were by no means ended. In the beginning of the year, two soldiers of the Detroit garrison were murdered by a party of Pottawattamies from St. Joseph; and upon the Pennsylvania border, the tomahawk still drank the blood of the settler. French traders in the Illinois country, continued to hold out to the Indians the hope of French intervention, although while they thus spoke, the ambassadors, whom Pontiac had sent to the governor of New Orleans for aid, were paddling up the Mississippi chagrined and disappointed at their bootless mission. From this untoward aspect of Indian relations, fears were entertained that the Delawares and Shawanese would fail to redeem their promise given to Colonel Bouquet the previous autumn; and these apprehensions were strengthened, when it became known that the Shawanese hostages had escaped from Fort Pitt. These fears however, so far at least as the Delawares were concerned, happily proved groundless, and by the first days of January, two deputies from that nation were on their way to Johnson Hall. The unusually deep snow that had fallen during the winter, rendered their progress slow, and it was not until the twentieth of February, that they arrived. No formal council was immediately held. Before a treaty of peace should be concluded, the Baronet wished, for the sake of the moral effect, to have present those Delawares who had fled to Chenussio for protection. He, accordingly, sent a messenger to the Senecas, informing them that he was now ready to treat with the Susquehannas and Delawares, provided they

delivered up their king and chief conformably to their agreement at Niagara, the last July. To this suggestion, the Senecas made no objection, and signified their intention of at once coming down. A meeting, however, of all the Confederacy at Onondaga, delayed their journey so that they did not arrive until the close of April. CHAP.
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This delay was not regretted by the Baronet, who, as it was, had none too much time, in which to prepare for the reception of his Indian guests. Quarters had to be prepared, and presents and provisions laid in for the gathering, which, as the Six Nations had signified their intention of also being present, promised to be large. Notwithstanding, however, the multiplicity of his cares, he found time to put up a few houses in his new settlement, in which he placed tradesmen and artizans for the benefit of his settlers, who had been obliged hitherto, very much to their inconvenience, to make their purchases either in Albany or Schenectady.¹

On the twenty-seventh of April, one hundred and twenty Senecas arrived, bringing with them the Delaware king, and chief, Squash Cutter and Long Coat. Many of the Six Nations were also in attendance, together with some Caughnawagas, so that the whole number of Indians present on this occasion was over nine hundred. The Baronet was much pleased with the attendance of so many of the Six Nations; for the establishment of amicable relations with the western nations, although important, was not the only object that he had in view in this meeting. In the early spring of 1764, he had requested his deputy George Croghan, who was then in London on private business, to draw up a memorial of Indian affairs, and lay it before the lords of trade. In this memorial, Croghan urged the purchase, by the parent government, of a large tract of land whose western boundary should be the Ohio river, and that the territory west of this boundary should be expressly reserved to the Six Nations for their hunting

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to Peter Hosenclever, 22 March, 1765.

CHAP. grounds. The Indians, Croghan said, had heretofore
 XII. regarded the English as a counterpoise to the power of the
 1765. French, and for that reason had always been their friends. Since the late war, however, they had looked upon the English in a very different light, and had become exceedingly jealous of their growing power. This feeling, he thought, would be dispelled, if a tract of country should be secured to them and their children forever, under the protection of his majesty. "Nor," added Croghan,—paying them in the remark a deserved compliment, which many of the whites might well have noted,—“need there be any solicitude that the Indians will not keep their agreement, for it is well known that they never claimed any right to a tract of country, after they sold it with the consent of their council, and received any consideration though never so little.” These suggestions were considered by the lords of trade so judicious, that, acting upon them, they immediately drew up a “plan for the future management of Indian affairs,” and sent it, in July of the same year, to Sir William Johnson, for his perusal and correction.

As the present meeting, therefore, presented a favorable opportunity for ascertaining the sentiments of the Six Nations in relation to the boundary thus recommended, Sir William, although he was not yet empowered to settle anything definitely, took occasion, in the course of the conferences, to draw out their views upon the subject. “The king,” said he, “being very desirous to put an end to all disputes between his subjects and your people concerning lands, has fallen upon a boundary between our provinces and the Indians (which no white man shall ever invade) as the surest method of accomplishing that end.” This plan, he was convinced, must appear to them so reasonable, that he was confident they would lend him all possible aid in settling upon a division line. As soon as he was fully

¹ Croghan's memorial to the lords of trade.

empowered, he should also consult the governors of the several provinces in relation to it, but in the meantime, he was very desirous of knowing what boundary they would consider fair, and upon which they would cheerfully agree. This proposition, presented with so much tact, struck the Indians favorably, and while in private council, one of their sachems, whose English name was Thomas King, urged them to agree forthwith upon some definite line. "Let us make a line," said he, "for the benefit of our children, that they may have lands that can't be taken from them; and let us in that, show the king that we are generous, and that we will leave him land enough for his people; then he will regard us and take better care that his people do not cheat us." This appeal, so artless and confiding, determined his braves, and in the general meeting the next day, on the sixth of May, they proposed a line running from the German Flats to Oswego, on the east branch of the Susquehanna; thence to Fort Augusta, now Sunbury; thence up the west branch of the Susquehanna to Kittaning on the Ohio; and thence down that river to the Cherokee, now the Tennessee river.

Having thus ascertained the disposition of the Indians in relation to the boundary, Sir William next turned his attention to the Ohio deputies, with whom he concluded a treaty of peace, on the eighth of May. The conditions upon which peace was granted were, that free permission should be immediately granted to his majesty's troops to pass through their country; that they should assist to the utmost, the efforts of the English in securing the Illinois; and that they should send some of their people with Mr. Croghan, who was about to leave Fort Pitt to take possession of those forts still in possession of the French. In case, moreover, any murders should hereafter be committed by their nation, the offender was to be delivered up at the nearest garrison for trial. But these conditions were not all. In January, the traders of Pennsylvania, in view of this meeting, had petitioned the superintendent, that he

CHAP. XII.
1765. } would endeavor to obtain of the Delawares indemnity for the injuries and losses which they had sustained in the destruction of their accounts and papers. Another article was therefore inserted in the treaty, to the effect that they were to give, with the approbation of the Six Nations, to those traders who had suffered, grants of land, by way of restitution. Upon this compensation being given, and provided, also, that they solemnly promised to protect the traders in their yearly journeys, they were guarantied a fair and liberal trade at the principal posts. It was, however, expressly stipulated, that in case of frauds practiced upon them, they were to lay their complaints before the commanding officer at the post, but by no means, would they be allowed to take the matter into their own hands. In this treaty the Susquehanna Delawares were also included, upon their agreeing to deliver up within forty days all the prisoners still in their possession. Having thus made their peace with the English, they left Johnson Hall on the fourteenth of May, leaving Squash Cutter and Long Coat as hostages for the return of the captives. The Senecas, also, left two of their principal chiefs for the same purpose.

As soon as the treaty was concluded, Captain Bull and two other Ohio Delawares were given up to the deputies of that nation. The remaining prisoners, who had been sent to New York for security, were also brought up, and placed in charge of the commanding officer at Albany, until the Susquehanna Delawares, to whom they belonged, had delivered up their captives according to their promise. Everything at length having been amicably adjusted with the Ohio deputies, who, by the way, appeared, throughout the entire conference, desirous of acting cordially and candidly, they were dismissed on the fifteenth, with many presents. The other Indians dropped away one by one, until, on the twenty-second, none remained of the vast throng, but the families of the four chiefs who were left behind as hostages. These, however, numbering over

forty Indians, formed quite a little village near the Hall; and having resolved to stay until the release of the chiefs, they were not a small tax on the Baronet's larder. CHAP.
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The Susquehanna Delawares were true to their word; and on the nineteenth of June, one of Sir William's interpreters, who had been sent out to collect the captives, returned with twenty-five, having succeeded in rescuing every one, even to the half breeds, the children of intermarriages with the Indians. The unfortunate Squash Cutter, however, did not live to reap the benefit of the good faith of his nation, having a few days previously fallen a victim to that malady, so fatal with the red man, the small pox. Sir William at once advertised for the relatives of the captives, "but," he writes, "I believe it will be very difficult to find the friends of some of them, as they are ignorant of their own names, or former places of abode." Indeed, the rescuing of these prisoners seemed, in a few instances, to be a mistaken kindness. Some of them, having, as the Baronet remarks, lost all recollection of their white relatives, and having, moreover, intermarried while in captivity, had formed strong attachments among the Indians. Their ignorance of the abodes of their kindred, and even of their own names, rendered it impossible to identify them, so that the sundering of their newly formed ties of friendship and affection, caused even more mental agony than their original captivity.¹

But the hospitalities of Johnson Hall were not always lavished upon the red men of the forest. During the month of June, Lady Susan O'Brian and her husband were the guests and recipients of the courtly courtesies of the Baronet. Lady Susan was the eldest daughter of Stephen Fox, the first Earl of Ilchester, and a sister of Lady

¹ "Treaty of peace with the Delaware Indians."

"Conferences at Johnson Hall with the Six Nations and Delawares, April 29 and May 22nd 1765."

Manuscript letters; Johnson to Gage, 1765

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Harriet Ackland, whose name has become so identified with Burgoyne's campaign, through the vivid and affecting narratives of General Burgoyne and Madame Riedesel.¹

By her marriage with William O'Brian, an actor, in the spring of the previous year, she had alienated her family, and had consequently sailed with her husband for America, arriving at New York in April. The Baronet was advised of their arrival, by her uncle, the first Lord Holland, who, in April, wrote to him detailing the circumstances of the marriage, and requesting his friendly offices for his niece, who had just emigrated to the wild-woods of America. From the letters of Lady Susan, it appears that her host and his housekeeper, did everything in their power to render their visit agreeable, and that the Baronet was equally at home, whether entertaining the rude savage, or the scion of a noble house. Molly Brant is spoken of particularly as a "well-bred and pleasant lady," who, in many a ramble with her ladyship in the greenwood, proved a delightful companion. Nor was this kindly feeling entirely one sided. So much did his high-born guest interest Sir William in her favor, that shortly after Lady Susan and her

¹The correct spelling, and not *Reidesel*, as it is commonly spelled. This appears from the signatures of herself and husband to several original letters in my possession.

"My Lady Ackland had a tent not far from our house: in this she slept, and the rest of the day she was in the camp. All of a sudden one came to tell her that her husband was mortally wounded and taken prisoner; on hearing this she became very sorrowful. We comforted her by telling her, that it was only a slight wound, and at the same time advised her to go over to her husband, to do which, she could certainly obtain permission, and then she could attend him herself. She was very fond of him, although he was a plain, rough man, and was daily intoxicated. He was nevertheless a brave officer. She was the most lovely of all women [*allerliebste*.] I spent the whole night in comforting her, and then went again to my children whom I had put to bed. I could not go to sleep, as I had General Frazer and all the other wounded gentlemen in my bed-room, and I was constantly afraid that my children would awake, and by their cries disturb the poor dying man, who often apologized '*for the trouble he gave me.*'" *Extract from Madame Riedesel's account of the action of the 7th of October, 1777*

husband returned to New York, he wrote a letter to Lord Holland, begging that the young couple might be again received into the good-graces of his family,—urging among other things, that O'Brian seemed to be a very worthy young man, possessing, in the highest degree, the affections of his wife.¹

During the latter part of their stay, the circle of guests was farther increased by a visit from Lord Adam Gordon, afterward commander-in-chief of the army in Scotland, who was then making a tour of pleasure in America. While at Johnson Hall, quite an intimacy sprung up between the entertainer and his guest, and upon the latter's return to England in October, the former sent with him his son John, "to try to wear off," as the Baronet expresses it, "the rusticity of a country education."²

While the Baronet was thus pleasantly entertaining his noble guests, George Croghan was slowly pursuing his journey into the country of the Illinois. It will be remembered, that, by the treaty of 1763, all the territory east of the Mississippi, except the Island of New Orleans, was ceded by France to the crown of Great Britain. In conformity with the terms of the treaty, orders were received, at the close of that year, by the French officers stationed in the Illinois, to surrender their posts whenever British troops should demand their evacuation. When these orders, however, arrived, the English, whose entire energies were absorbed in the war with Pontiac, were in no condition to take formal possession of the ceded territory; and, although at the beginning of the present year, the Indians had been partially brought to terms by the expedition of Colonel Bouquet, and the pacific efforts of Sir William Johnson, yet Pontiac was still at bay in the Illinois, and Gage, therefore, hesitated to occupy that country, until those tribes that were sullenly holding aloof, should

¹Manuscript correspondence of Sir William Johnson and Lord Holland.

²Manuscript letter: Sir William Johnson to Gage, 1 October, 1765.

CHAP. he mollified and won over to the English interests. This
 XII. hesitation had been, moreover, greatly increased by the
 1765. recent repulse of Major Loftus by the savages, in an attempt to occupy Fort Chartres¹ and the adjacent posts, with English garrisons. In the spring of 1764, that officer embarked on the Mississippi at New Orleans with five hundred regulars, but he had proceeded up that river scarcely eighty leagues, when the foremost boat was suddenly emptied by a rapid volley of musketry from the western bank. Terrified at this hostile reception, at once so fatal and unexpected, the prows of the boats were hastily put about, and the survivors retreated in great trepidation to New Orleans.² This unfortunate attempt having satisfied Gage that no effectual occupation could take place, while the Indians were yet averse to the measure, Croghan was dispatched by Sir William Johnson to the Illinois, with directions to divest the Indians, by persuasion and the judicious use of presents, of their hostile feelings. Accordingly, Croghan, accompanied by Lieutenant Frazer and a few troops as a body guard, set off late in the winter, and arrived the middle of February at Fort Pitt.

At this place, the deputy was delayed several weeks, until the snow, which, as has been observed, had fallen to a great depth during the winter, should be sufficiently melted to allow him to pursue his journey with rapidity and safety. The time thus consumed was not, however, lost. The Shawanese had not yet delivered up their prisoners according to the promise made by them to Bouquet, nor had they, thus far, shown any disposition to send a deputation to Johnson Hall to confer with the superintendent. The escape, moreover, of their hostages from Fort Pitt, justified the suspicion of meditated treachery. In this state of affairs, and aware of the danger which would attend his

¹ Fort Chartres was an old French trading post, built in 1720. It was situated in the vicinity of what is now Randolph county, Indiana, about a mile and a half from the Mississippi. The ruins yet remain.

² Parkman.

mission—perilous at the best—should the Shawanese relapse into their former hostility, the deputy, soon after his arrival, invited the chiefs of that nation to a council. This precaution was well taken. If the chiefs, before his arrival, entertained a design of again taking up the hatchet, his threats and persuasions decided them against such a suicidal course. They now, not only expressed themselves heartily in favor of maintaining amicable relations, but, on the ninth of May, delivered up at Fort Pitt all the prisoners yet in their possession, amounting to forty-four. Nor did their efforts to prove their sincerity end here. Toward the close of June, four of their deputies, accompanied by a number of Delawares and Mingoes, arrived at Johnson Hall. They were all cordially received by the superintendent, and a treaty of peace having been ratified, on the thirteenth of July, with the Shawanese and Mingoes, the deputation was dismissed with presents.

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In the meantime, Lieutenant Frazer, young, impulsive and impatient of delay, started in advance of the deputy, leaving the latter still engaged in Indian conferences. His rashness, however, in thus venturing with but two or three attendants, into the heart of the enemy's country, while Indian relations were in such an unsettled state, had nearly proved fatal. In reply to his threat that an English army was on its way to Illinois, the French traders only laughed; and he himself, having, like Captain Morris, been rescued from death by the efforts of Pontiac, was only too glad to escape to New Orleans.

On the fifteenth of May, Croghan embarked on his perilous voyage down the Ohio, accompanied by fourteen Shawanese and Delawares, and a few whites. If he had any lingering doubts of the friendly intentions of the Shawanese, they must have been dissipated by the following circumstance. While encamped at the mouth of the Scioto river, a party of that nation, in response to a message sent to them a week previously, brought in seven French traders who had been residing among them. There were six

CHAP. more, they said, residing with the Delawares. These they
 XII. would endeavor also to procure, by prevailing upon that
 1765. nation to deliver them up. In fact, as they farther told the deputy, they were determined to do everything in their power to convince him of their sincerity, and of their desire for peace. Continuing their voyage, the party reached the mouth of the Wabash at the close of the sixth day of June, and prepared to go ashore for the night. Warned, however, by the prints of moccasoned feet in the mossy bank, of an ambuscade, they pushed off from the shore, and landed six miles farther down, where they encamped. The Indians were not to be thus baffled. Just at daybreak of the eighth, while the party were yet encamped in the same place, they were assailed by a storm of bullets and arrows from a war party of eighty Kickapoos and Musquattamies concealed in the neighboring thickets. Three Shawanese and two white men were instantly killed, and Croghan and all of his party wounded. Resistance was, of course, useless, and they therefore surrendered, only, however, to be robbed of everything they possessed. Croghan's baggage, even to his paper, was completely destroyed; and he was consequently forced to write his journal upon such scraps of paper as he could pick up during the remainder of his journey.

Scarcely were the captives fairly in the power of the Indians, when the latter suddenly manifested deep contrition for their conduct. "After this," naively remarks Croghan in his journal, "they told us they were sorry for what had happened, that they had been employed by the French, their fathers, who had told them it was Cherokees that were with me, and that there was peace made with the Shawanese, Delawares and Six Nations." How much credit is to be attached to this statement, will ever remain doubtful. It is by no means improbable,—and this by the way, was always the opinion of Sir William Johnson and his deputy—that some of the French traders, conscious that their monopoly of trade in the Illinois was at an end,

sought to gratify their revenge by setting the Indians on to ^{CHAP. XII.} Croghan and his party. Many of the traders were ^{1765.} unprincipled, base men, who would not have scrupled to resort to anything which would gratify their hatred and malice. Be this, however, as it may, it is certain that when the Kickapoos discovered who it was that they had killed, they not only freed their Indian prisoners, but evinced the utmost fear, begging Croghan to intercede with the Shawanese and Six Nations that the revenge of those powerful nations might be averted.

The prisoners were conducted by their captors up the Wabash to Vincennes, a small French settlement of about eighty houses, and thence to Ouataum, which they reached on the twenty-third of June. At this place, Croghan was met by a messenger from St. Ange, the officer in command of Fort Chartres, inviting him to visit that post, and place matters on a right footing. The condition of his wounds not allowing him to immediately accept this invitation, it was not until the eighteenth of July, a week after the arrival of the messenger, that he was able to set out for the French post. Hardly, however, had he left the fort, when he was met by Pontiac himself, who, advancing from among his body guard of chiefs, frankly proffered his hand to the deputy, expressing at the same time a desire to have a friendly talk. To have appeared to doubt his intentions, would have been madness, and Croghan, at the solicitation of the chieftain, returned to the fort. Pontiac, however, meditated no treachery. Convinced at last, that the French were powerless to further his ambitious designs, he was now sincere in offering the calumet and peace belt to the deputy of Sir William Johnson. He had been deceived, he said, by the French. They had informed him that the English intended to take their country from them and give it to the Cherokees, their bitter enemies. They had also told him, that the English would enslave the Indians of the Illinois, all of which had deeply grieved him. More recently, however, he had learned from the Six Nations

CHAP. that all past differences were settled, and he was, therefore,
XII. also willing to bury the tomahawk and forever be at peace.
1765. The French, he concluded, never claimed any title to the country, and if the English took possession of their forts with the same understanding, they would be welcomed by the Indians with open arms.

A visit to Fort Chartres being now rendered unnecessary by his interview with Pontiac, Croghan, having dispatched expresses to Fort Pitt and Johnson Hall, with news of the successful termination of his mission, set out for Detroit, accompanied by Pontiac and a few of his principal chiefs. The remainder of the journey was without incident, and having collected on his way the English prisoners among the Ottawas and Twightwees, he arrived at Detroit on the seventeenth of August. Here he found awaiting him several tribes of Ottawas, Pottawattamies and Chippewas, and also De Couagne, the Niagara interpreter, with belts and messages from the superintendent to the Ottawa king. Several days were occupied in conferences, in one of which the deputy delivered to all the western nations a road belt, in the name of Sir William Johnson, to open a road from the rising to the setting sun. This was, however, only preliminary to the grand council which was held with Pontiac and the tribes of the Ottawa confederacy on the twenty-seventh. At this meeting, the hatchet was taken out of their hands and burned; the tree of peace planted; and the pipe of peace smoked. They were, moreover, urged to return to their ancient settlements near Detroit, and take care of their council fire as of old. The reply of Pontiac, the following day, is not remarkable for any special eloquence, and is mostly worthy of note from the fact, that while it expressed a disposition to be friendly, it shows that the speaker had consented to peace more from compulsion than inclination. In answer to the allusion to the council fire, he said that they had now settled upon the Miami¹ river, where they could hereafter be found when-

¹ Now the Maumee.

ever they were wanted, assigning for this, that should they remain near Detroit, they would always be drunk and quarrelsome. The probable motive, however, was, that the Ottawa chieftain chose not to dwell where he would ever be reminded that his was a conquered race. "I now," he said in conclusion, "deliver my pipe to be sent to Sir William Johnson, that he may know I have made peace, and taken the king of England for my father, in presence of all the nations now assembled; and whenever any of these nations go to visit him, they may smoke out of it with him in peace."

Having wrung from Pontiac a promise to meet Sir William Johnson the next spring at Oswego, there to ratify a lasting peace on behalf of the Ottawa confederacy, Croghan left Detroit the latter part of September, and arrived at Johnson Hall the middle of October. The result of the deputy's mission was highly satisfactory to the superintendent. "Croghan," writes the latter to John Watts, "has succeeded admirably, and to the utmost of my expectation; and has left the Indians in such a calm state, as will insure the public tranquillity."¹

Upon the receipt of Croghan's letter from Ouataum, announcing that the road was now clear for the passage of the troops, Lieutenant Colonel Reid, the officer commanding at Fort Pitt, dispatched Captain Sterling with one hundred Highlanders of the forty-second regiment, to take possession of Fort Chartres. Accordingly they embarked the last of August; and while they floated down the Ohio on their mission, trade, which ever keeps pace with Anglo Saxon triumphs, was building boats at Fort Pitt, in which to penetrate the heart of the Indian country. The thirty-fifth regiment had also been sent up from New Orleans with the same object; but the Highlanders under Stirling

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to J. Watts, 30th Oct., 1765. John Watts was, I believe, the father of the old Recorder of New York city, of the same name.

CHAP. arrived first, and upon the tenth of October, the chivalrous
XII. St. Ange yielded into their keeping the last token of French
1765. supremacy in the country of the Illinois.¹

¹ Croghan's Journal. Letters of Johnson to the lords of trade, 1765.
Manuscript correspondence between Johnson and Gage, 1705.

CHAPTER XIII.

1765.

The general pacification of the Indian tribes would have ^{CHAP. XIII.} been made the subject of special rejoicing by the colonists, had they not been, at this time, engaged with the mother country in a contest which seemed to portend more danger to their liberties, than the most horrible massacre ever perpetrated by the savage foe. ^{1765.}

It was in the fall of 1763, that George Grenville and Lord North first devised the plan of raising a revenue by the sale of stamps to the colonists. Grenville, however, hesitated long before pressing this measure, and it was not until the twenty-second of March of this year that the stamp act passed, and received the signature of the king. The act declared that, thenceforth, no legal instrument should possess any validity in the colonies unless it was stamped by the government.¹ Long before the passage of the act, the rumor that such a project was even meditated by the ministry produced a universal outburst of indignation. If parliament wished to raise any sum, said the colonists, let them employ the usual method of writing circular letters to the provinces, requesting supplies according to the ability of each. When thus applied to heretofore, the king had never found them remiss, but on the contrary—as their loyal obedience to these requisitions during the last war, had fully shown—they had always responded with alacrity. Taxation, however, without representation in parliament, was tyranny, to which they

¹ “ By this act, a ream of bail bonds *stamped* was £100; a ream of common printed ones, before, was £15: a ream of *stamped* policies of insurance was £190; of common ones, without stamps, £20.” *Bradford, Mass.*, i, 12.

CHAP. XIII. would not submit. These views were advocated with great
 1765. power by James Otis in a series of pamphlets; and the public prints teemed with similar discussions, all of which were read with care and reflection. The assemblies of Virginia and New York, especially, by their protests, took firm ground against the passage of the act, but the petition of the former body was not received in England until it was too late, while that of the latter was so intemperate in its expressions against the newly assumed pretensions of the parliament, that the agent, Mr. Charles, was unable to find any member of that body bold enough to present it.

It may therefore readily be seen, that if the mere intimation that such an odious measure was in contemplation, produced so much solicitude, the passage of the act itself was not calculated to allay the growing apprehensions of the people. But it was no sudden ebullition of indignation that first manifested itself. Indeed, so amazed were the colonists at the presumption of parliament, that when the news was first received, their feelings were too deep for utterance. Hutchinson, the chief justice of Massachusetts, mistaking this for submission, hastened to write to the ministry, that "his countrymen were waiting not to consider if they must submit to a stamp duty, but to know when its operation was to commence." He knew not that this calm was but the stillness which preceded the tornado, that was soon to sweep with such desolating fury throughout the land! He was shortly undeceived. Mutterings began to be heard in every province,¹ which, in New England and New York, soon grew into acts of violence. On the fourteenth of August, Andrew Oliver, the brother-in-law of the chief justice, who had received the appointment of stamp distributor for Massachusetts, was, together with Lord Bute, suspended in effigy from a tree in one of the streets of Boston. In reply to the command of the chief

¹ In this discussion, Canada and Halifax are not included; both of these provinces made no resistance.

justice to take down those figures, the sheriff gave a flat refusal; and the council of the province, likewise, declined to interfere. That same night, the mob, taking the images down, carried them to the newly erected stamp office, which they immediately razed. Oliver's dwelling was next assailed, the windows and furniture demolished, and the effigies burned on Fort Hill. The next day, Oliver resigned; but he was obliged, the same evening, to make a public recantation at a bonfire which the populace had kindled. But having once given vent to their long pent up exasperation, they did not stop here. Urged on by a popular preacher, Jonathan Mayhew by name, who had taken for his text the previous day, "I would they were even cut off which trouble you," they destroyed, on the twenty-sixth, the records and files of the court of admiralty, and breaking into the house of Hallowel, the comptroller of customs, broke the furniture, and freely drank of the choice wines in the cellar. To their just anger were now added the fumes of liquor, and proceeding forthwith to the residence of Hutchinson, they tore the paintings from the walls, destroyed the plate, and scattered his large and valuable library of books and manuscripts to the winds; nor did they depart until the interior of the building, even to the partition walls, was completely demolished. Happily, Hutchinson and his innocent family, having received timely notice of their danger, had escaped before the arrival of the rioters—otherwise the crime of murder might have been added to these violent and disgraceful proceedings.

In Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire, the popular indignation showed itself in similar demonstrations, though not of so violent a character. The effect, however, in those provinces was the same; each of the stamp distributors being forced to resign to save himself from odium, if not from death.

Meantime, the assembly of Massachusetts resolved, on the sixth of June, that "it was highly expedient there should be a meeting, as soon as might be, of committees

CHAP. XIII. from the houses of representatives or burgesses in the
 1765. several colonies, to consult on the present circumstances
 of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they were and
 must be reduced, and to consider of a general congress—
 to be held at New York the first Tuesday of October.”
 To this invitation the colonies heartily responded, and in
 the convention, held at the time and place designated, they
 were all represented, except New Hampshire, Virginia,
 North Carolina and Georgia. The three latter, however,
 although prevented by their governors, by continued
 adjournments, from sending delegates, signified by letters
 their willingness to acquiesce in whatever measures the
 convention might adopt. So also wrote New Hampshire.¹
 Lieutenant Governor Colden, who had from the beginning,
 pronounced the convention unconstitutional and unlawful,
 likewise endeavored, by successive adjournments, to pre-
 vent the assembly of New York from electing delegates.
 But an assembly that had driven Clinton from his chair,
 and had successfully fought through so many years against
 a permanent support, was not to be thus easily foiled; and
 a committee appointed by them in October, 1764, to cor-
 respond with their sister colonies upon recent acts of parlia-
 ment in relation to trade, now took their seats in the con-
 gress as the representatives of the people of New York.²

Timothy Ruggles, who had been sent by Bernard, the
 governor of Massachusetts, to thwart the patriotic efforts
 of his colleagues, was chosen president of the congress,
 and John Cotton clerk. No time was lost. Committees
 were immediately appointed to draft petitions to parlia-
 ment, having for their burden the stamp act; and after a
 harmonious session of fourteen days, the convention dis-
 solved, having adopted a declaration of rights, a petition
 to the king, and a memorial to both houses of parliament
 —the latter being drawn by James Otis.

¹ Why New Hampshire neglected to send delegates does not appear.

² This committee were Robert R. Livingston (Justice Livingston), John
 Cruger, Philip Livingston, William Bayard, and Leonard Lispenard.

As before remarked, the people of New York were among the most bitter opponents of the stamp act. While the riots were going on in Boston, the act itself was reprinted and hawked about the streets of New York city, as "The folly of England, and ruin of America." Secret organizations styling themselves the Sons of Liberty, met to discuss plans of resistance. Warned by the example of his brother appointees, in the neighboring colonies, McEvers, the stamp distributor, resigned. General Gage, at the solicitation of Colden, ordered down, in July, from Crown Point, a company of the sixtieth regiment, for the defence of Fort George, the guns of which were remounted, new ordnance ordered, and the magazine replenished with a bountiful supply of ammunition. On the arrival of the first cargo of stamps in the harbor, toward the end of October, placards were posted up in the streets and at the Merchant's Coffee House, of which the following is a copy :

"PRO PATRIA.

"The first man that either distributes or makes use of stamp paper, let him take care of his house, person and effects.

"VOX POPULI.

"WE DARE."

Terrified at signs he could not misunderstand, the lieutenant governor had the stamps conveyed for greater security to the fort; and in great trepidation summoned the members of his privy council for their advice. But notwithstanding he sent repeated messages, and notwithstanding, also, that seven members were in the city, only three, Horsmanden, Smith, and Ried, responded to his call, and they declined giving any advice unless there was a fuller board. In this state of affairs, nothing was left to Colden but to shut himself up in the fort, and await the result. He was not long in suspense.

On the first of November, the day appointed for the stamp act to go into operation, the popular indignation, which

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 1765. } had been so long smouldering, burst forth. Early in the evening, the Sons of Liberty, numbering several thousand, appeared before the fort and demanded the stamps. On being refused, they proceeded to the open fields—a portion of which is now the park—and having erected a gibbet, they hung the lieutenant governor in effigy, and suspended by his side a figure, holding in his hand a boot, representing Lord Bute.¹ The images after hanging some little time, were taken down and carried, together with the scaffold, in a torch-light procession to the gates of the fort. Having in vain knocked on the gates for admission, the mob broke into Colden's carriage-house, brought forth the family coach, placed inside of it the two effigies, and having again paraded them around the city, returned to within one hundred yards of the fort gate, and hung the figures upon a second gallows erected for that purpose. A bonfire was then made of part of the wooden fence, which, at that time, surrounded the Bowling Green, and the effigies, together with the lieutenant governor's coach, a single horse chair, two sleighs, and several light vehicles were cast into the flames and entirely consumed. While the flames were lighting up the black muzzles of the guns of the fort, another party, having spiked the cannon on the Battery, proceeded to the house of Major James, an artillery officer, who had made himself specially obnoxious by his having aided in putting the fort in a suitable posture for defence, and having burned everything of value,

¹ Colden, it is true, in a letter under date of November fifth to Secretary Conway, says that the image suspended by the side of his effigy was intended to represent the devil. In a manuscript letter, however, now before me, written by Alexander Colden, his son, to Sir William Johnson, a month after, and when the facts therefore could be better ascertained, the excitement having partially subsided, the writer says that the second image was designed for *Lord Bute*. The *boot* has now significance as a *rebus* on *Lord Bute* which before it had not. "His Lordship's [John Stewart, Earl of Bute] established type with the mob was a jack-boot, a wretched pun on his christian name and title."—*Maccauley's Essay on The Earl of Chatham*.

returned in triumph, bringing with them the colors of the royal artillery regiment. CHAP.
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When McEvers resigned, Colden had sneered; but 1765. even he, was now compelled to give way. The day after the riot, he caused a large placard to be posted up, signed by Goldsbrow Banyar, the deputy secretary of the council, stating that he should have nothing more to do with the stamps, but would leave them to Sir Henry Moore Bart., who was then on his way from England to assume the government. This declaration, however, did not satisfy the Sons of Liberty. Through their leader, Isaac Sears, they insisted that the stamped paper should be immediately delivered into their hands, threatening, in case of refusal, to storm the fort where it was deposited. The common council, alarmed at the uncontrollable fury of the mob, and fearing an effusion of blood, added, likewise, their solicitations that the stamps might be deposited in the City Hall. In answer to this latter request, the cause of the dispute was delivered up, after considerable negotiation, to the corporation—the board giving a pledge to make good all the stamps that might be lost.

But if the spirit of the mob could not be subdued, it might at least be guided. On the sixth of November, a meeting of the more conservative citizens was called, and Sears, with four others,¹ was authorized to correspond with the several colonies upon the new and alarming feature of the prerogative of parliament. The committee thus appointed entered into their work with zeal, the fruits of which soon became apparent. A resolution, emanating from New York and adopted by the other colonies, directed the English merchants to ship no more goods to America, and declared that no more goods coming from England should be sold on commission in the colonies after the first day of January, 1766. Nor did the patriotism of the people end here. The wearing of cloth of British

¹ These were John Lamb, Gushom Mott, William Wiley, and Thomas Robinson.

CHAP. XIII. manufacture was dispensed with, coarse home-spun garments taking its place. Marriages were no longer performed by licences, upon which the stamp act had now laid duty, but were solemnized by being proclaimed in church. Everywhere resistance to kingly oppression was the watch-word.¹

The new governor, Sir Henry Moore Bart., who had been appointed, in June, to succeed General Monckton, arrived in New York the beginning of November, after a tedious passage of ten weeks. When he first landed, he was disposed to assume a haughty tone in relation to the stamp act. The corporation offered him the freedom of the city in a gold box, but he refused to accept it, unless upon stamped paper. The custom house cleared vessels, but the men-of-war ran out their guns and refused to allow them to leave the harbor, unless they produced a certificate from the governor that no stamps were to be had. This the latter declined to give, and the vessels remained at the wharfs. The spectacle, however, of Colden quaking with fear in the fort, and the judicious advice of his council, soon convinced him of the folly of any attempt to carry the act into execution ; and before his first meeting with the assembly, he openly announced that he had suspended his power to execute the stamp act. To still farther appease the people he dismantled the fort, very much to the disgust of the lieutenant governor, who, not having been consulted, retired in chagrin to his country seat at Flushing.²

Owing to the successive adjournments by Colden, the general assembly met, for the first time this year, on the thirteenth of November. Only fourteen members, how-

¹ Colden to the lords of trade, Nov. 5, 1765. Colden to Secretary Conway, Oct. 26, 1765. Grahame, manuscript letters ; Alexander Colden to Sir William Johnson, Dec. 1765.

² Manuscript letter ; Alexander Colden to Sir William Johnson, 2 Dec. 1765. Sir Henry Moore to Conway 21 Nov. 1765. Colden to Conway, 21 Feb. 1766

ever, answering to their names, the speaker announced the appointment of Sir Henry Moore to the government, and adjourned the assembly to the nineteenth.

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The severest test, perhaps, of public opinion, at this time, is to be found in the governor's opening address, which was brief and general, and contained not the slightest allusion to the existing troubles. The answer of the house was equally guarded; each party seeming to be averse to broach a topic that was so unpleasant to the other. But if the assembly was unwilling to allude in their address to that which was now upon every mind, they showed no indisposition to handle it among themselves. Among their first resolutions, was one not only approving the action of the committee in meeting with the congress in October, but tendering them, also, their warmest thanks for the part which they had taken in the deliberations of that body. In connection with this resolution they farther resolved, *nemine contradicente*, "that for obtaining relief from the operation and execution of the act of parliament called the stamp act, humble petitions be presented to his majesty, the house of lords and the house of commons, as nearly similar to those drawn up by the late congress as the particular circumstances of the colony will admit of." A committee was therefore appointed to draw up the three petitions, which, signed by Wm. Nicoll, the speaker, were forwarded, in the name of the house, to Mr. Charles and John Sargeant, the colony's agents in London.

But the action of the assembly did not keep pace with the public requirements; at least so thought the Sons of Liberty. On the twenty-sixth, a sealed letter was handed by an unknown person to Mr. Lott, clerk of the house, directed "TO MR. LOT, MERCHANT. IN NEW YORK," and ran as follows:

"On receiving you are to read the in closed in the open assembly of this Province New York as you are clark and whare of fail not on your perrel.

(Signed)

"FREEDOM."

CHAP. XIII. The enclosed letter was directed "TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK," and was in the 1765. following words :

"Gentlemen of the house of Representatives, you are to Consider what is to be Done first Drawing of as much money from the Lieut. Governor's Sallery us will Repare the fort, & on Spike the Guns on the Battery & the nex a Repeal of the Gunning Act & then there will be a good Militia but not before & also as you are asetting you may consider of the Building Act as it is to take place nex yeare which it Cannot for there is no supply of Some Sort of materials Required this Law is not Ground on Reasons but thar is a great many Reasons to the Contrary so Gentlemen we desire you will Do what lays in your power for the Good of the public but if you take this ill be not so Conceited as to Say or think that other People know nothing about Government you have made their laws and say they are Right but they are Rong and take a way Lebrty. Oppressions of your make Gentlemen make us Sons of Liberty think you are not for the Public Liberty, this is the General Opinion of the People for this part of Your Conduct.

"1765

"by order

"Sign'd, one & all.

"Nov'r. 26

"FREEDOM."

Both of these letters,—which, by the way, bear on their face, unmistakable evidence of their being designedly written in this illiterate manner, probably for the greater disguise,¹—were laid before the house by the clerk, who dared not refuse. But the assembly were not disposed to have any such gratuitous advice; nor was their patriotism yet attuned to the same accord with that of the writer. However much, moreover, they might be disposed, themselves, to criticise the unpopular Colden, they did not choose to be instructed by the ironical suggestion in relation to the lieutenant governor's salary and the spiked

¹The entire absence of punctuation, in the same letter with the correct abbreviation of *Sign'd* and *Nov'r.*, and the correct spelling of the more difficult words, show clearly the marks of design.

guns. They therefore resolved, that the said letters were rebellious, scandalous, and seditious; that they were designed to inflame the minds of the good people of the colony against their representatives; and that an address should be presented to the governor, requesting him to offer a reward of fifty pounds for their author or authors, that they might be brought to "condign punishment;"—pledging themselves, at the same time, to provide the means for defraying the above reward.¹

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On the third of December, the governor, by Mr. Ban-
yar, sent down a message to the house, in which the latter was informed that by the mutiny act, passed during the last session of parliament, the expense of furnishing the king's troops in America with quarters and other necessaries, was to be defrayed by the several colonies. In consequence thereof, the commander-in-chief had demanded that provision should be made for the troops, whether quartered within, or marching through the province; and it was now requested to make provision accordingly.

This request was at this time exceedingly inopportune. It involved a question, which in Lord Loudoun's time—when the country was engaged in a disastrous war, and when therefore there was a seeming necessity for such provision—had been productive of ill feeling, and almost of riots. It may readily be seen, therefore, that when no such necessity existed, and when the public mind was in such an excited state, the assembly were in no mood to comply. The message was accordingly referred to a committee of the whole house, of which Robert R. Livingston was the chairman. On the nineteenth, they reported against it on the following grounds;—that when his majesty's forces were quartered in barracks belonging to the king, they were always furnished with necessaries without any expense to the counties in which they were quartered; and that if any expense was necessary for quartering

¹ Journals of the assembly.

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 1785. } troops on their march, and supplying them with what was required by the act, the house would consider thereof after the expense was incurred.¹ Sir Henry Moore was too prudent a man to press the matter farther; and having satisfied his duty to the crown by the formal demand for quarters, he allowed the matter to drop for the present.

Numerous acts were passed during this session; among which was one for vesting the stone wall, erected during the war on the north side of Albany for its defense, in the corporation of that city; and another for building a pier in the river to prevent damages by ice. After which the assembly, having drawn up a declaration of rights setting forth that his majesty's subjects were entitled to all the rights and privileges of Englishmen, not having forfeited them by their emigration to America, adjourned, on the twenty-third of December, to the following March.

What were the views of Sir William Johnson upon the question which was now agitating all classes of community? This query is an interesting one, not only from the prominence of the man, but from the fact that it has always been *taken for granted* that his sympathies must have been, as a matter of course, upon the side of the crown. In elucidating this point, I think I am justified, after careful investigation, in stating, that when the troubles between the colonies and the mother country first began, so far from giving the ministry an unreserved support, he was decidedly non-committal. In a letter to the commander-in-chief, under date of September twelfth, he expresses himself upon the topic then uppermost in every mind, to say the least, in a very equivocal manner. "The change of men at home," he writes, in September, to General Gage, "may have produced a change of measures, and the affairs of the colonies in general may have engaged their attention, and will doubtless do so much more, when they hear of the riotous conduct of some of the Ameri-

¹ Journals of the assembly.

cans, which has proceeded such lengths as must give us reason to think that *any* ministry will take notice of it.” CHAP.
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 Again in the same letter: “Although no great part of my landed estate was purchased from the Indians, neither is it equal in its whole extent to what former secretaries for Indian affairs acquired from them, yet it is, perhaps, more improvable than many others; and, therefore, having a property to lose, I cannot be supposed to think differently from the real interests of America; yet as a lover of the British constitution, I shall retain sentiments agreeable to it, although I should be almost singular in my opinion, and I have great reason to think that the late transactions, and what is daily expected in other colonies, will be productive of dangerous consequences—as I do not enter into their debates, nor suffer myself to be led by the artful constructions of the law. I know you will excuse my freedom in offering my thoughts.”¹ Again in another letter to a friend, he writes. “For my part, I neither wish us here more power than we can make a good use of, or less liberty than we have a right to expect.”²

The cautious and non-committal tone of these extracts is apparent. Indeed, it is difficult to understand how one, whose feelings were ever peculiarly sensitive to injustice, and whose life was spent in shielding a persecuted race from oppression, could have been an uninterested spectator of events then occurring. Very many of his warm personal friends in the Mohawk valley, had espoused the cause of the colonies; and the presumption is, that had not his independence been shackled by the honors of the peerage and his obligations to the crown, he would boldly have advocated the side of the people.

¹ Manuscript letter; 12 Sept., 1765.

² In his correspondence at this time occurs also passages, of which the following are fair specimens. “I wish we may always meet with the moderation from the British crown.” “I heartily congratulate you on the repeal of the Stamp Act.” “The crown must pay for it [i.e. the troubles] all at last.” “Unless they alter the Stamp Act, we shall all be Republicans.” *Ex uno disce.*

CHAP. The Sons of Liberty were still in the ascendant. The
XIII. last week in November, two hundred of them crossed over
1765. to Flushing, and compelled the Maryland stamp distributor, who had fled thither for safety, to sign a resignation of his office. In December, ten boxes of stamps were seized on their arrival in port and consumed in a bonfire. "We are in a shocking situation at present," wrote Alexander Colden to Sir William Johnson, with whom the former was on terms of intimacy, "and God knows how it will end. Its not safe for a person to speak, for there is no knowing friend from foe."¹

¹ Manuscript letter ; Alexander Colden to Sir William Johnson, 2d December, 1765.

CHAPTER XIV.

1766.

It would have been strange if Sir William Johnson, ^{CHAP. XIV.} who had risen from the body of the people to such prominence in the colony by his own ability, and who had, ^{1766.} moreover, thwarted so many, in their schemes of aggrandizement at the expense of the Indians, should not have presented a conspicuous mark for the envenomed shafts of malice and jealousy. In the beginning of this year, reports were circulated that he had incurred the royal displeasure, and that he was to be removed in disgrace. It was, therefore, with peculiar pleasure, that he received, in January, the intelligence that his son John, upon his presentation at court immediately on his arrival in England, in November last, had been created a knight.

The temperament of the Baronet was such as to render him miserable unless actively employed. Having therefore a little leisure by the termination of Indian hostilities, he turned his attention more particularly to personal and home matters. Accordingly, during the spring months, we find him busily engaged in erecting a grist mill for his tenantry; overseeing the building of an Episcopal church in Schenectady, of which he was the patron; and—having taken a past-master's degree in March—fitting up, at his own expense, a masonic lodge at Johnson Hall.¹ He also built two commodious stone dwellings for his sons-in-law—the families of whom had hitherto resided at the hall—into which they removed the latter part of March.²

¹ Sir John Johnson, was the last Provincial Grand Master of the province of New York.

² With each of these dwellings the Baronet conveyed a farm of six hun-

CHAP. XIX. One would naturally imagine that these labors would
 1766. have occupied his whole attention. The thorough system, however, which he introduced into all his affairs, enabled him to accomplish a great deal in a little time; and having received the appointment of commander-in-chief of the militia in the northern district of New York, he found opportunity not only to make a return of his old regiment to Governor Moore, but to assist the latter in reorganizing the state militia, which had fallen, since the war, into a chaotic state. But this was not all. Trade at the different frontier posts, owing to the recent hostilities, had become completely broken up; and the regulations which the Baronet had established on his journey to Detroit, in 1761, had now to be modified and altered. The lords of trade, moreover, in the spring, had directed the superintendent to curtail as much as possible the expenses of his department; and in conformity with this instruction, General Gage, at his suggestion, ordered the post at Onondaga and a few blockhouses in the Indian country, to be abandoned. Two objects were thus attained. First, the vacating of these posts, removed in a great degree the jealousy of the Indians; and secondly, by concentrating the trade at Oswego and Niagara, the expense was greatly diminished. The frauds of the traders, also, having been a great source of the unfriendly feeling of the Indians, the Baronet determined to effect an entire change in the basis upon which trade should in future be conducted. He therefore, in the spring, appointed at Oswego, Niagara, Fort Pitt, Detroit, and Montreal, commissaries of trade, under whose supervision all trade should be carried on, and whose business it should be, to redress grievances between the whites and Indians. At the same time, the commanders of the several trading posts were forbidden

dred and forty acres. The dwelling occupied by Guy Johnson was called Guy Park, and is still [1864] standing about a mile above the village of Amsterdam. The house occupied by Colonel Claus burned down during the revolution.

to allow any trader to go among the Indian nations. By ^{CHAP. XIV.} these judicious measures, those swarms of unprincipled traders that had hovered around the forts, were scattered ^{1766.} —one man of character, at each post, transacting the entire business. To further still more this arrangement, Croghan was dispatched in April to the Illinois, with directions to establish trade in that country on the same footing. The deputy accomplished his mission successfully; and having concluded, in August, a treaty with eight of the more southern nations at Fort Chartres, he returned to New York by way of New Orleans.

The good effect of these measures was soon apparent. Convinced that they were no longer to be imposed upon, the Indians hastened to show by their conduct, that they appreciated the efforts which had been made for their benefit. "The Indians," wrote Lieutenant Roberts, from Niagara, in July, to the superintendent, "are now very honest; and a bateau of rum which they recently discovered, cast away on Lake Erie, they left untouched, and communicated it immediately at this post." ¹

Opposition to the stamp act still continued. In January, a committee from the Sons of Liberty waited upon six persons in Albany and requested them to take an oath that they would not accept the office of stamp distributor. All but Henry Van Schaack, the Albany post master, having complied, the mob went to the latter's house, a little below the city, broke the windows, furniture, and the piazza, and taking his pleasure sleigh into town consumed it in a bonfire. Alarmed at these demonstrations, Van Schaack took the required oath, and the mob dispersed.

In New York city, the committee of which Isaac Sears was chairman were still active. Having ascertained by

¹ Manuscript letters; John Brown to Johnson, 3d Jan., 1766; Johnson to Duncan, 9th Jan., 1766; Wm. Darlington to Johnson, 2d Feb., 1766; Johnson to Capt. McLeod, 15th March, 1766; B. Roberts to Johnson, 23d April, 1766; Instructions from Sir Wm. Johnson to John Rosseau, interpreter, 1766.

1766. } their secret agents in Philadelphia that a merchant, Lewis Pintard, had sent to that city a mediterranean pass and a bond on stamped paper, they waited upon the merchant and also upon the naval officer who had given the pass on the twelfth of January, and compelling them to appear on the common, forced them to swear before a crowd of eight thousand people, that the passes which they had signed and delivered were not stamped to their knowledge. Not satisfied, however, with this declaration, the committee conducted them to the coffee house, before which a bonfire had been kindled, and obliged Pintard to commit the passes to the flames with his own hands. On the following day, Governor Moore, who, being of a timid and amiable nature, had a dread of becoming unpopular, sent for one of the committee, and said, in the course of the conversation, that he hoped the "gentlemen his associates," did not suspect him of being cognizant of the mediterranean passes. Upon being informed that they did not, the Governor farther stated, that he had solicited this interview to assure the Sons of Liberty, that not only was he ignorant of that transaction, but that he would have nothing to do with any stamps whatever.²

Alarmed at the rapid growth of republican principles in America, the seeds of which had been sown by its own folly, parliament, on the eighteenth of March, repealed the obnoxious act. The British legislature, however, yielded not with a good grace. "The colonists," wrote Sir William Baker to the Baronet, "must not think that these lenient methods were brought about by the inducements of their violence."³ Fearing, therefore, that their action

¹ Manuscript letter; John Glenn Jun. to Johnson, 7th Jan., 1766.

² Manuscript letter; Norman McLeod to Sir Wm. Johnson, 14th Jan., 1766.

³ "I hope the last session of parliament has conciliated the North Americans to their mother country; but at the same time it must be expected from them obedience to the laws of this government. The colonists must not think these lenient methods made use of by that administration was brought about by the inducement of their violence; but was really the effect of conviction that the rash act past the two preceding sessions were unwarranted."

would be misconstrued, parliament hastened, almost simul-
 taneously with the repeal of the stamp act, to pass a bill, CHAP.
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 declaring the absolute right of the king and parliament 1765.
*‘to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the
 crown of Great Britain in all cases whatsoever.’*

In the first delirium of delight at the repeal, the news of which was communicated to the colonists by their agents, on the sixteenth of May, the tendency of the declaratory act was not heeded. In New York city, especially, the populace seemed wild with joy. Bells were rung, a royal salute of twenty-one guns fired, and the city illuminated. On the fourth of June, the king's birth day, the governor had an ox roasted whole, *a hogs-head of rum and twenty-five barrels of beer* opened, and the people invited to join in the feast. On the same day a mast was erected, inscribed “To his most Gracious Majesty, George the Third, Mr. Pitt, and Liberty.” But the enthusiasm of the people did not end here. On the twenty-third of June a meeting was held, at which a petition was signed by a majority of the citizens, requesting the assembly to erect a statue to William Pitt, as a mark of their appreciation of his services in repealing the stamp act. That body entered fully into the feelings of the people; and besides complying with the wishes of their constituents, in relation to Pitt, they made provision for an equestrian statue to his Majesty, George the Third; and also voted their thanks, and a piece of plate, to John Sargeant, “for his services as special agent,” during the stamp act controversy.

The opening speech of Governor Moore to the assembly, on the twelfth of June, began by adverting to the general satisfaction diffused among the people by the repeal of the stamp act. It was the impression made on the minds of the people by this act of his majesty's favor, that had induced the governor, so early, to call

able and oppressive.” *Manuscript letter; Sir Wm. Baker to Johnson, 7th Nov., 1766.*

CHAP. the legislature, in order to give them the earliest oppor-
 XIV. tunity of making those acknowledgments of duty and
 1766. submission, which, on such an occasion, his excellency
 thought must arise in the bosom of every individual.
 It then spoke of the impositions upon the credulity
 of the people by the misrepresentations of artful and
 designing men. "Let it be your concern," it continued,
 "to undeceive the deluded, and by your example, bring
 back to a sense of their duty, those who have been
 misled, that nothing which can carry with it the least
 resemblance of former heat and prejudice may be suffered
 to prevail, and the minds of those who are too easily
 agitated be again disposed to a cheerful obedience to the
 laws, and to sentiments of respectful gratitude to the
 mother country." Their attention was next directed to
 the care of those unfortunate persons, who had suffered
 from the "licentiousness of the populace for their defer-
 ence to the British legislature," and they were requested
 to make full and ample compensation for the goods and
 effects of the sufferers, that had been destroyed.¹ This
 latter suggestion was owing to circular letters from the
 minister to the Provincial governors, requesting the colo-
 nial assemblies to show their "respectful gratitude for the
 forbearance of parliament," by indemnifying those who
 had suffered injury in attempting to execute the late act.
 In connection with the opening speech, petitions were
 handed in by Lieutenant Governor Colden and Major
 James, praying the assembly to make good their losses by
 the recent riots. These petitions were thereupon referred
 to a committee of the whole house, who reported favor-
 ably upon the claims of Major James, but passed over in
 silence those of the lieutenant governor—very much to
 the chagrin of the latter, who forthwith wrote a letter to
 Conway, begging him to lay his case before the king, that
 his losses might be recompensed by a pension.²

¹ Council minutes.

² Lt. Gov. Colden to the minister, 24th June, 1766.

The governor now ventured again to request of the ^{CHAP. XV} assembly its compliance with the demands of the ministry in relation to the quartering of troops, a large body of ^{1766.} whom was shortly expected from England. But, although the house had joined with the council in an humble address to the king thanking him for the repeal of the stamp act, and although, moreover, it was perfectly willing to vote statues to his majesty and William Pitt, it was no more disposed to comply with this demand, now that parliament had yielded to its wishes, than it was at the previous session, when the stamp act was in full force. The house accordingly voted a series of resolutions similar in tone to those passed November, 1765, and postponed farther discussion on the subject until the troops had arrived. A second message, however, from Sir Henry Moore, induced it to alter its determination so far, as to state that the appropriations of 1762 were at his disposal, and might be applied towards providing barracks, fire-wood, and candles for two battalions and one company of artillery for one year. Beyond this, however, it would not go; and the governor, while he was obliged to be content with this decision, wrote at the same time to the lords of trade, that its partial compliance was more the result of compulsion, than of gratitude for recent favors; and that, in his opinion, every act of parliament, unless backed by a sufficient power to enforce it, would meet with the same fate.¹

The time had now arrived for the promised visit of the Ottawa king. Fearing, however, that he might fail to keep his engagement, Sir William Johnson had dispatched, in March, Hugh Crawford with belts and messages to Pontiac and the chiefs of the Ottawas, Hurons, Chippewas and Pottawattamies, with orders to accompany the delegation to Oswego as a body guard. Indeed, it required no little courage on the part of Pontiac, to venture

¹ Sir Henry Moore to the lords of trade, 20th June, 1766.

CHAP. so far east, among those who regarded his name as a
XIV. synonym of horror. Several Indians moreover, had been
1766. recently murdered by the relentless borderers of the
Pennsylvanian frontier, which fact the French traders had
not failed to use in their assertions to Pontiac, that the
English would never suffer him to return alive. That
Pontiac himself was greatly influenced by these insidious
efforts to prevent his journey, is evident from a circum-
stance which occurred while he was at Fort Erie on his
way eastward. Just after his arrival at that post, on the
twenty-seventh of June, a few of the garrison fired at a
flock of pigeons. Hearing the report of the shots, so
soon upon his entrance into the fort, Pontiac started
in evident trepidation, and it was not until after many
assurances from the commanding officer, that he was
divested of the idea of treachery.¹ At Fort Schlosser,
which was reached on the last day of June, Pontiac and
his warriors were furnished with a bountiful supply of
tobacco; and carrying their birchen canoes over the port-
age, they launched them upon Lake Ontario, and soon
arrived at their destination.

At Oswego, while waiting the arrival of the superintend-
ent, the party were hospitably entertained by Norman
McLeod, the Niagara commissary. The attendance of the
Baronet was necessarily delayed. Being desirous of hav-
ing present at the expected council a few chiefs of the
Six Nations, for the purpose of allaying any jealousy which
his conference with the western nations might excite, he had
dispatched, in June, Captain John Butler to the castles of
the Confederacy, inviting them to Oswego. The Mohawks,
however, who had promised to be in readiness to start
with him by the last of June, were found, when the time
arrived, in a beastly state of intoxication, produced by
George Klock, who had thus taken his usual preliminary
step in some land negotiations. A slight indisposition also

¹ Manuscript letter; John Carden (commander at Erie) to Johnson, 30th
June, 1766.

detained him, so that it was not until almost the twentieth of July that he reached Oswego.¹

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The twenty-third of July, was the day appointed for the council. As may be supposed, every effort was made to invest the present occasion with as much augustness as possible. Covenants, solemn and lasting, were now to be entered into between the crown of Great Britain, and a chieftain by far the most powerful that ever trod the forest glades, and one, also, whose beck could at pleasure summon legions of painted warriors upon the war path, or send them cowering to their wigwams. As it was now the warmest of summer weather, the council was held in the open air; the assembly being protected from the rays of the sun, by an awning of evergreens. Indeed the appearance of the council upon that summer's morning was exceedingly picturesque. At one end of the leafy canopy the manly form of the superintendent, wrapped in his scarlet blanket bordered with gold lace, and surrounded by the glittering uniforms of the British officers, was seen with hand extended in welcome to the great Ottawa, who, standing erect in conscious power, his rich plumes waving over the circle of his warriors, accepted the proffered hand, with an air in which defiance and respect were singularly blended. Around, stretched at length upon the grass, lay the proud chiefs of the Six Nations, gazing with curious eye upon the man who had come hundreds of miles to smoke the calumet with their beloved superintendent.

After the salutations of welcome had been interchanged, and the council opened by the usual ceremony of presenting three strings of wampum, Sir William condoled the Hurons on the death of their great sachem Aughstaghregi, covered his grave with a black belt of wampum, and dismissed the meeting for the day.

On the twenty-fourth, as soon as the chiefs were all seated, the superintendent lighted the great calumet of peace,

¹ Manuscript report of John Butler to Sir Wm. Johnson, 30 June, 1766; Johnson to the lords of trade, 20 Aug., 1766.

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1766. which Pontiac had sent to him by Croghan, and having taken a whiff from its hieroglyphic stem, passed it around to every chief in turn. Then amid the profound silence of his auditors, he stood up, and having "opened the door and made the road clear and smooth" by a belt, he thanked them for their kindness to his deputy, the previous summer, and for their disapprobation of the conduct of those who had endeavored, at that time, to "obstruct the good work of peace." "I have now," he continued, "with the approbation of General Gage (your father's chief warrior in this country) invited you here in order to confirm and strengthen your proceedings with Mr. Croghan last year. I hope that you will remember all that then passed, and I desire that you will often repeat it to your young people, and keep it fresh in your minds.

"Children, you begin already to see the fruits of peace, from the number of traders and plenty of goods at all the garrisoned posts; and our enjoying the peaceable possession of the Illinois will be found of great advantage to the Indians in that country. You likewise see that proper officers, men of honor and probity, are appointed to reside at the posts, to prevent abuses in trade, to hear your complaints, and to lay before me such of them as they cannot redress. Interpreters likewise are sent for the assistance of each of them; and smiths are sent to the posts to repair your arms and implements. All this, which is attended with great expense, is now done by the great king your father, as a proof of his regard; so that, casting from you all jealousy and apprehension, you should now strive with each other who should show the most gratitude to this best of princes. I do now, therefore, confirm the assurances which I give you of his majesty's good will, and do insist on your casting away all evil thoughts, and shutting your eyes against all flying idle reports of bad people."

Allusion was then made to the murders lately committed on the borders by the frontiersmen; and while they were

assured that no pains would be spared to bring the offenders to justice, they were reminded that the people of the border had been made frantic by the barbarities that their kindred had suffered, during the late war, by the Indians themselves. Hunting and trade were then recommended, and the efforts which had been made for their protection against fraud again adverted to. "I now," he added in conclusion, "with this belt turn your eyes to the sunrising, where you will always find me your sincere friend; and from me you will always hear what is good and true. I charge you, therefore, never more to listen to those bad birds, who come with lying tongues to lead you astray and to make you break the solemn engagements you have, in the presence of the Great Spirit (who detests liars) entered into with the great king your father and his people. Be strong then, and lay fast hold of the chain of friendship with the English, that your children, imitating your example, may be a prosperous and happy people."

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As soon as Sir William had finished, Pontiac thanked him for his speech, every paragraph of which, he said, was good, and promised his reply on the following morning.

The next day Atheriata,¹ the Huron speaker, opened the meeting with a short address on behalf of the nations residing in the immediate vicinity of Detroit, who, he said, desired that Mr. Crawford should be appointed to assist Mr. Hay in his duties as commissary at Detroit. As soon as he had ended, Pontiac resumed his reply:

"*Father*: Let us thank the Supreme Being for enabling us to meet together on so fine and clear a day as this; it seems as if it was with his approbation we are met. I am now speaking on behalf of all the western nations I command, and in their name take you by the hand. You may

¹ Spelled thus in the *original manuscript* minutes of this council, in my possession. It is also written Teata and Tiata. He survived this council but a short time, as appears from the following extract:—Tiata, the Huron speaker, who was at Oswego with me, died at Fort Erie of a hard drinking bout, though the Indians say that a Pottawattamy poisoned or bewitched him." *Manuscript letter; Johnson to Colonel Claus, 10 Sept., 1766*

CHAP. XIV. be assured that whatever I now agree upon will be a law
1766. to them, and I take the Almighty to witness, that what I
am going to say I am determined steadfastly to perform ;
for it seems that he who made the universe would have it
so. While I had the French king by the hand, I kept a
fast hold of it ; and now having you, father, by the hand, I
still do the same, in conjunction with all the western
nations in my district, whom I shall acquaint with every
transaction of this congress as soon as I return, and who
will readily comply with any thing I desire.”

At this point, he handed to Sir William a large belt of
six rows of wampum.

“*Father* : We sincerely thank you for your goodness in
supplying us so plentifully with merchandize, which is a
sure means of maintaining a good understanding between
us. It gives us great pleasure to hear that, in future,
traders will not be allowed to straggle through the woods
to trade with us ; and that they are to trade only at the
posts, under the immediate inspection of the commissaries.

“*Father* : When you address me, it is the same as if you
addressed all the nations of the west. This belt, (hold-
ing a large belt over the chain belt given the previous
day) covers and defends your belt, to the end that if any
nation attempts to disturb the peace now so firmly estab-
lished, we may feel it first and give you notice and assist-
ance. You told us, father, to look towards the rising
sun ; we cheerfully comply with your desire, and on my
return home, I shall direct all the nations I command, to
do the same, and look towards their father, so that stretch-
ing out their hands they can always take hold of his.”

Several days were thus occupied in speeches and inter-
changes of good feeling ; and on the last day of August,
Sir William having given to each chief a silver medal,
with the inscription, “a pledge of peace and friendship
with Great Britain, confirmed in 1766,” Pontiac and his
warriors again launched their canoes, loaded with presents,
upon Lake Ontario ; and keeping time with their paddles

to a wild and strange melody, they were soon lost to sight on the waste of waters.¹

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The Baronet tarried a day longer to calm the Six Nations, who were greatly exasperated at a recent murder, by a white, of an unoffending Oneida at Minisink; and on the fifth of August, arrived at Johnson Hall. "Every thing," he wrote a few days afterward, "is settled to my entire satisfaction with Pontiac and the western chiefs, on whose fidelity I think I can safely rely." The writer was not deceived in the sincerity of Pontiac; for while that rude savage, in December, was refusing a belt from the French inviting him to fall upon the English, Major Rogers, the ranger of St. Sacrement, was planning the delivery of Michilimaekinae into the hands of the Spaniards.²

Upon his return home, the Baronet found a letter from the Earl of Shelburne, tendering him the king's thanks for his able management of the Indian department, and also one from Sir Henry Moore, announcing the writer's intention of paying him a visit toward the close of September.

¹ The career of Pontiac was brought to an untimely end in the spring of 1769, by the tomahawk of an Illinois Indian. Some writers have attributed his murder, to the jealousy with which he was regarded by the Indians themselves, while Parkman, in his elaborate history of Pontiac's conspiracy, says, that his assassin was instigated to the deed by an English trader of the name of Williamson. Although this latter author is unquestionably the best authority, upon this point, yet it may be of interest, in connection with the former of these statements, to give an extract from a manuscript letter to the Baronet from Norman McLeod, written from Oswego under date of Aug. 4. 1766, four days after Pontiac had left for the west. McLeod says; "Last night Mon. Degur arrived here from Detroit. He tells me its firmly believed at that place, that Pontiac is to receive 10 shillings sterling a day, from the crown of Great Britain. It seems this report has been raised by his enemies to create a jealousy among the Indians that will end in his ruin. The Frenchman offered to lay me a bet, that Pontiac would be killed in less than a year, if the English took so much notice of him."

² Rogers was appointed, very much against the judgment of the Baronet, to the command of Michilimakinac by General Gage, in the spring of this year.—*Manuscript correspondence of Johnson and Gage, 1765-66.*

CHAP. XIV. { Meanwhile troubles had arisen in Dutchess county, which, although in no way connected with the issues
1766. between the colonies and the mother country, at first threatened serious consequences. In the beginning of this year, the Stockbridge Indians, feeling themselves aggrieved by the intrusion, as they claimed, of some of the people of Dutchess upon their lands, applied through eight of their sachems, to Governor Moore for redress. The latter, wholly disposed to act fairly in the matter, ordered notices to be served upon the trespassers summoning them before the council, promising the sachems, that when they should give him proof of such service, he would appoint a day for hearing their complaint. This course, however, was too slow for the Indians, who in July, —feeling perhaps that their claims would not bear investigation, broke into the houses of the alleged trespassers, and turned their families out of doors. As is generally the case on such occasions, several of the vagabond class of whites, ever ready for a fray, joined the rioters, and committed acts of violence throughout the country. The excitement soon extended into Albany county; and the mob, now grown to formidable dimensions, threatened to attack New York city, and, indeed, actually began their march thither. In this exigency, the governor wrote to the superintendent, who was then at Oswego, requesting his influence in quelling the disturbance; and at the same time, General Gage ordered up, to meet the insurgents, the twenty-eighth regiment, which had just arrived from England. The appearance of the troops soon brought the rioters to reason; and having succeeded—though not without some bloodshed—in restoring order, they returned to New York with the chief ringleaders of the rebellion.¹

The boundary between the provinces of New York and Quebec was still undetermined, and although, shortly

¹ Governor Moore to the Minister, 14 July, 1766. Governor Moore to the lords of trade, 12 August, 1766.

after the peace of 1763, the king had fixed the line at the forty-fifth degree of latitude, yet the unsettled state of the country had hitherto prevented any farther steps toward its adjustment. Instructions, however, having been received in the spring, to delay the survey no longer, Governor Moore set out, at the close of August, for Lake Champlain, accompanied by Brigadier Carleton,—who had lately been appointed lieutenant governor of Quebec,¹—and an accomplished surveyor. At the foot of the lake the party were joined by the deputy surveyor of Canada, and after a careful survey of three weeks, the division line was fixed in the river Sorel about two miles and a half below Windmill point.²

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On his return, Sir Henry Moore made his promised visit to the Baronet, accompanied by his wife and daughter, and remained at Johnson Hall four days. The principal object of this visit was, to purchase some land, for himself, General Gage, and Lord Holland, with the intention of settling it with emigrants from Europe. In anticipation of this, the Baronet had summoned the Oneidas—from whom it was proposed to purchase the land—to meet the governor; and the former had just communicated to the Indians a proclamation of Governor Franklin, of New Jersey, offering a reward of one hundred dollars, for the apprehension of the murderer of the Oneida at Minisink,

¹ Manuscript letter; the Earl of Shelburne to Johnson, 20 June, 1767.

² Governor Moore to the lords of trade, 7 Nov., 1766.

Governor Moore to the minister, 8 Nov., 1766.

Ibid, Dec., 1767.

The veritable boundary stone which was set up during this survey between New York and Quebec, is now [1864] in the agricultural rooms at Albany, N. Y., having been presented by Jasper Curtis, of St. Albans. It is a shell lime stone, and has in quaint lettering, the word Quebec engraved on the one side, and New York upon the other. The boundary commissioners, in locating the line under the Webster and Ashburton treaty of 1842, placed an iron monument in its place. It is a singular, as well as an interesting fact, as showing the accuracy of the surveys, that at the time of running the lines in 1842, the surveyors ran on to this very stone, and that too, without having had any knowledge of its location. I am indebted for this curious fact to B. P. Johnson Esq., secretary of the N. Y. Agricultural Society.

CHAP. XIV.
 1766. when the latter arrived. After considerable negotiation, a purchase was consummated of a tract of two hundred thousand acres, lying on the north side of the Mohawk, above the German Flats. The Oneidas, however, while they assented to the sale with seeming willingness, requested, with great simplicity, that they might not be asked "to sell any more." This purchase was subsequently divided into five shares; the three original purchasers retaining each one fifth, and the Baronet, and a Mr. Hasenclever, the other two shares.¹ Having finished this transaction, Governor Moore distributed a few presents among the Indians, and hastened home to prepare for the meeting of the general assembly.

The joyous feelings which had followed the repeal of the stamp act was of not long continuance. Hardly had the first gratulations of victory passed, and sober reflection taken its place, when the declaratory act, in all its ominous proportions, loomed up, overshadowing the public mind with gloomy forbodings. The persistent attempt, moreover, to force the province into a compliance with the mutiny act—an act, which to thinking men, seemed intended to provide the nucleus of a standing army—alarmed all classes; and secret leagues were at once formed in most of the colonies, the object of which was to further union of council in resisting oppression. The partial compliance of the assembly, to the requisition of the governor for quarters, had been exceedingly distasteful to the Sons of Liberty, who, upon the arrival of the troops, made no disguise of their feelings. Mutual animosities accordingly arose between the citizens and soldiery, which soon culminated in open acts of hostility. On the tenth of August, some of the troops, exasperated at the people,

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to Colden, 8 Nov., 1766.

Manuscript letter; Hasenclever to Johnson, 1766.

Mr. Lossing in his *Life of Schuyler*, states that Schuyler was associated with Moore, in the purchase of lands this year, near Fort Stanwix. That, however, must have been another transaction, as Schuyler's name does not appear in this.

to whose influence they attributed the action of the assembly in depriving them of their liquor, cut down the flag-staff, which, with so much apparent unanimity, had been dedicated to "Pitt and Liberty." The following evening, while the citizens were preparing to reërect the pole, they were assaulted by the soldiers with drawn bayonets, and several of them, among whom was Isaac Sears, were wounded. Governor Moore, who heartily wished the troops away, attempted, with General Gage, to restrain these outrages, and, to some extent, succeeded; but the officers, intent upon gratifying their private malice, winked at the conduct of their men, who thus encouraged, became more violent than ever. Several dwellings of the poorer class, situated in the suburbs of the city, were broken into, on the twenty-third of October; and, on the third day of November, the domestic sanctuary of an honest drayman was entered by a soldier, who, while he wounded its occupant, hesitated not to hamstring his horse, upon which he relied for his daily bread.

These licentious proceedings were not calculated to dispose the assembly any more favorably to the attempt to quarter the obnoxious red-coats at their expense. Accordingly, when, on the seventeenth of November, Governor Moore laid before that body, instructions from the minister, informing them of the king's displeasure at their conduct; their absolute duty to obey the acts of parliament; and of his wish that provision for the troops should be immediately made, they refused outright to make farther provision, choosing to interpret the act as referring solely "to soldiers on the march." On this refusal, Governor Moore waited upon the house, and endeavored to prevail upon them to alter their determination. His efforts, however, were unavailing; and having, by the defiant attitude thus assumed, no other alternative left, he prorogued the assembly on the nineteenth of December.¹

¹ Governor Moore to the duke of Richmond, 23 Aug., 1766.

Governor Moore to the lords of trade, 19 Dec., 1766.—*Holt*.

CHAP. XIV. The Paxton men, notwithstanding the proclamations
1766. of the governors of New Jersey and Pennsylvania recommending kindness and humanity to the Indians, still continued their bloody work upon the frontiers. Blinded by their passions, they thought of nothing but revenge for past injuries; and every scalp taken, was so much to be placed to the credit side of the bloody account. Yet while pursuing this course, they seemed conscious that they were drawing down a terrible retribution; and, in the fall, many of them left their farms and again withdrew into the larger towns for protection. Their conduct, in truth, gave reason to fear a renewal of Indian hostilities. Mutterings were again heard among the tribes; and when, in December, a party of Tuscaroras, returning from Carolina, were robbed of their horses at Paxton, the clouded brows of the haughty chieftains presaged fearful vengeance. Even the Baronet felt powerless to avert the storm. "Murders," he wrote, "are now daily committed on the frontiers, and I fear that an Indian war is inevitable."¹

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to O'Brien.—Johnson to the minister, 16 Dec., 1766.

CHAPTER XV.

1767.

Already the British cabinet regretted the repeal of the stamp act; and the project of taxing America was again resumed. The extravagant demonstrations of delight, manifested by the colonists at the repeal, had been regarded by British statesmen with ill concealed disgust. The still stronger exhibitions of joy upon the anniversary of the repeal did not abate this feeling; and when, in May, the news was received that Georgia, following in the wake of New York, had also declined obedience to the mutiny act, their chagrin at having yielded became open and undisguised. Pitt, Camden, and Conway, it is true, protested against taxation; but the former, no longer the great commoner, but the Earl of Chatham, had lost, from the day on which he had taken his seat in the house of lords, his popularity, and with it his influence: Camden and Conway were unreliable: and Charles Townshend, the chancellor of the exchequer, with Grenville, was thus left to mature his favorite scheme of replenishing the finances at the expense of the colonies. Accordingly, in May, Townshend, taking advantage of the absence of Chatham (caused by a temporary indisposition) introduced a bill into the house of commons, imposing a duty on all paper, glass, tea, and painter's colors, imported into the colonies. The preamble of the bill set forth that "it is expedient that a revenue should be raised in his majesty's dominions in America, for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government, in those provinces where it shall be found necessary; and towards farther defraying the expenses of

CHAP. defending, protecting, and securing the said dominions.”

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 1767. In its passage through parliament, the bill met with scarcely any opposition, and on the twenty-eighth of June, it received the cordial assent and signature of the king. This was shortly followed by another, “to establish commissioners of customs in America,” and also by one “to compensate the stamp officers who had been deprived by the people.” But by far the most important in its consequences was still another, which received the royal assent upon the twenty-ninth, and which declared that the functions of the assembly of New York were henceforth annulled—the governor and council being forbidden to give their assent to any act passed by that body, “until the mutiny act was unequivocally acknowledged and submitted to.” The rebellious people of the colonies, said the authors of this act, must be brought to unqualified submission, and the supremacy of parliament be maintained.

This latter act, by far the deadliest blow that had yet been struck at their liberties, excited the utmost consternation throughout the American provinces. It was at once seen, that if parliament could at pleasure disfranchise a sister colony, the same fate might at any moment overtake the others. “This act,” wrote Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, “hangs like a flaming sword over our heads, and requires, by all means, to be removed.” The citizens of Boston, sympathizing deeply with the people of New York, expressed in no measured terms their indignation of what they styled ministerial tyranny. Tyranny it indeed was, and of the most inexcusable kind, inasmuch as it was not, as some have supposed, a tyranny into which the British ministry were led blindly, or through ignorance of the consequences. “It is strange,” says an elegant English writer,” that the British government should not have been apprehensive of the great and increasing danger of the predicament in which its colonial dominion was involved.”¹ It is not, however, strange. The British

¹ Graham.

government did it with open eyes, and clearly foresaw the results toward which its colonial policy was fast tending; for while, in the spring of this year, the chancellor of the exchequer was pushing forward his schemes of taxation, General Gage was putting Fort George, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point on a thorough war footing, and Carleton, the lieutenant governor of Canada, was adding new defences to Quebec.¹ "These measures," wrote the latter to the commander-in-chief, "will link these two provinces—New York and Quebec—so strongly together, as will add great security to both, and will facilitate the transfer of ten or fifteen thousand men, in the beginning of a war, from one to another, as circumstances may require:" and, in the same letter, the writer suggests that a "place of arms" should be immediately established in New York, "for," he adds, "no pains, address, nor expense is too great, that will give security to the king's magazines; divide the northern and southern colonies; and afford an opportunity of transporting our forces into any part of the continent."

The duties of his department left Sir William Johnson little time for relaxation; and he had scarcely dismissed an appeal of some Nahanties of Rhode-Island, praying his interference in an intestine broil,² when he received letters from Governors Sharp and Penn, requesting his influ-

¹ Lt. Gov. Carleton to Major General Gage, 15 Feb. 1767.

² Shortly after the Narragansetts had become merged in the Nahanties, Ninigret, the sachem of the latter nation, made in 1709 a grant of a large portion of the lands of his people to the colony of Rhode-Island, very much against the wishes of a portion of his tribe. The dispute was encouraged by the whites, who wished to obtain more of their lands; and when about the year 1650, Thomas Ninigret a descendant of old Ninigret made farther sales, the malcontents proceeded to depose him. An appeal was made by both parties to Sir Wm. Johnson in 1763; and the controversy and correspondence with Sir William continued for some years. The Baronet, however, though evidently inclining to the side of the sachem, continually declined to interfere; and the Rhode Islanders ultimately obtained the lands.—*Manuscripts of Sir Wm. Johnson.*

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 missioners to run a boundary line over the Alleghanies between Maryland and Pennsylvania. The running of this division line had been several times attempted, but had as often been prevented by the jealousy of the Indians, who regarded any movement of the kind with their habitual suspicion. The present time, moreover, was hardly less inauspicious. The winter, it is true, had passed away without the expected Indian outbreak, but the future still looked black, and it was evident that the Indians—especially the western nations—had remained quiet only for want of a leader, and that their resentment would take fire from the least spark. Notwithstanding this, however, the proprietaries of both Maryland and Pennsylvania were impatient for an adjustment of their boundaries: they were certain that the assent of the Confederacy could be obtained by the superintendent; and the latter, thus urged, had no alternative but to make the trial.

Accordingly, early in March, he sent runners to the different castles, inviting the Indians to meet him at the German Flats. Owing, however, to the recent murders on the frontier, they came in slowly, and it was not until May that the Confederacy was fully represented. On the twentieth, the Baronet laid before the Indians, who numbered nearly eight-hundred and were chiefly Senecas, the business which had called them together. The first interview gave little promise of success. The chiefs were surly and never, in all the Baronet's past experience, had they manifested so much discontent, or seemed so little inclined to a spirit of accommodation. It so happened, however, that while the negotiations were pending, the Baronet received letters from the minister, in answer to his complaints to the board of trade, in which he was assured that a stop should at once be put to the conduct of the borderers. The opportune arrival of these dispatches greatly facilitated the negotiations; and mollified by their contents and also by the presents from the pro-

prietaries, the Indians were finally induced to grant the desired permission; and deputies from among themselves were immediately sent to accompany the surveyors while running the boundary.¹ CHAP
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1767.

But permission to run the boundary was not all that was contemplated by this meeting; and before the Indians were dismissed, a point was gained from those fickle people still more important, from its bearing upon the peace and quiet of the more southern provinces. It had long been the desire of Governor Fauquier, of Virginia, that the Six Nations should become reconciled with their hereditary enemies, the Cherokees; and within the last year the correspondence between himself and the superintendent upon this subject, had been frequent. Accordingly, as soon as the affair of the boundary had been adjusted, the subject of the proposed peace was laid before the chiefs, who finally promised, in the name of the Confederacy, that if a deputation from the Cherokees would meet them at Johnson Hall, they would ratify a solemn and lasting treaty with that nation.

Allusion has frequently been made in this work to the attacks of illness to which the Baronet was liable. For years he had been subject to dysentery, which often prostrated him upon his bed for weeks together. At such times, the wound, that he had received at the battle of Lake George, in 1755, and from which the ball was never extracted, became excessively painful, rendering him, for weeks after an attack, unable to ride on horseback or to endure any active exercise. Suitable medical attendance it was very difficult to procure; and it frequently happened that having exhausted the contents of his own medical chest, he was obliged to send to Albany, and sometimes even to New York, for a physician. It was during one of

¹ Manuscript correspondence between the governors of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Sir William Johnson, 1767.

Manuscript letter; Johnson to John Watts, 30 May, 1767.

CHAP. XV. these attacks, in the summer of this year, that he was
 1767. induced to visit a medicinal spring,¹ the peculiar proper-
 ties of which had recently been brought to his notice by
 the Mohawks, who passed by it yearly in their hunting
 excursions.

Accompanied by his Indian guides, the Baronet set out on his journey, the twenty-second of August, and passing down the Mohawk in a boat soon reached Schenectady. At this place, Sir William, being too feeble either to walk or ride, was placed on a litter, and borne on the stalwart shoulders of his Indian attendants through the woods to Ballston Lake. Tarrying over night at the log cabin of Michael McDonald, an Irishman, who had recently begun a clearing on the shores of the lake, the party, accompanied by McDonald, plunged again into the forest; and following the trail of Indian hunters along the shore of Lake Saratoga, and its chief tributary, the Kayaderosseras, reached their destination. Close to the spring, for the comfort of the invalid, a rude bark lodge was erected; and in this primitive hotel, reclined the first white man,—of whom we have any knowledge,—that had ever visited the Springs. Yet while the sufferer lay on his evergreen couch, did the fortunes of the general whom he had defeated twelve years previously occur to him? Perhaps so; for by a singular coincidence, while the conqueror of Dieskau was prostrated amid those forests where the wounds of both had been received, the French general was languishing on his death bed at a small town in the interior of France:²—

“The paths of glory lead but to the grave.”

The Baronet had been but four or five days at the High Rock, when he received letters obliging him to hasten immediately home. Short as his visit was, however, the water, forest life, and change of air, restored his strength

¹ Now known as the High Rock, at Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

² Baron Dieskau died from the effects of his wounds received at Lake George, on the eighth day of September, 1767, at Surenne, in France.

so far as to enable him to travel some of the way to Schenectady on foot; and again taking his water carriage, he arrived, on the fourth of September, at the Hall, to welcome his son, Sir John, who had just arrived from England.¹ CHAP.
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The popularity of Saratoga Springs, as a watering place, may be said to date from this visit. For although the Baronet was not benefited as much as he anticipated,—perhaps from the shortness of his stay—yet the fact of so distinguished a personage as Sir William, having been even partially restored by the water, soon became noised through the country; others were induced to make the trial; new springs were discovered; and, thenceforth, the Springs became the resort of those who were in pursuit of health or pleasure.

The letters, which had hastened the return of the Baronet, contained intelligence of the death of the chief sachem of the Seneca nation. As the latter had been for several years past sincerely attached to the English interest, his death, in the present excited state of the Indians, was considered a great calamity. The time, moreover, was close at hand, when the general yearly meeting of the Confederacy would take place at Onondaga; and accordingly upon his return, Sir William, under the guise of making a tour for his health, set out for the great fire-place, hoping that his presence would neutralize any attempt to incite sedition among the tribes. His influence prevailed; the meeting passed off quietly; and having by numerous gifts, and many tedious ceremonies, condoled the Seneca's death, he returned to the Hall, the middle of October.

Convinced by his past experience, and more especially, by his recent visits to Onondaga, of the necessity of the

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to Moore, 21 Aug. 1767.

Manuscript letter; Johnson to Gage, 6 Sept. 1767.

The descendants of McDonald are yet living (1862) in the vicinity of Ballston, N. Y.

CHAP. XV. mother country at once adopting a definite Indian policy,
 1767. Sir William, upon his return, drew up, for the perusal of the lords of trade, a highly elaborate and carefully digested "Review of the past and present state of Indian trade and relations." This document consists of more than eleven hundred folios, and is accompanied with valuable suggestions for the improvement and amelioration of the Indian race, all of which are marked by the writer's characteristic vigor of thought, and strong common sense.

After adverting at length to the necessity of a well governed frontier trade, he proceeds "to a subject of the highest importance—religious instruction." This, he went on to say, had hitherto been greatly neglected, and up to this time had made little or no progress. The best channel, the writer thought, by which the truths of Christianity could be conveyed to the north, and north western tribes, was through the Six Nations, among whom as yet there was no missionary. The mission, which had formerly been established by Rev. Mr. Barclay at the lower Mohawk Castle, had latterly been of no benefit, as the missionary resided at Albany, and only occasionally delivered a sermon—"so that" adds the writer, "had not many of the Indians been furnished by me with religious books in their own language, they would now be almost entire strangers to the Christian religion. It was true, that some of the dissenters had occasionally sent a missionary to the Oneidas and Senecas, but they all, growing tired of the hard mode of life, had soon abandoned the field. Most of those, moreover, who had been sent, having just taken orders, either gave their hearers long discourses upon the distinctions of creeds or uttered long tirades against hunting, advising an agricultural life—than which nothing could have been more distasteful to the red man—so that the Indians had profited little by their instructions. Others again, well meaning but injudicious, had attempted to abolish at once many of their innocent customs—such as dances, and marriage feasts,—all of which was only calcu-

lated to inspire the Indians with disgust. What was wanted, said the Baronet, were men of piety, ability, and experience, who would be willing to remain among the Indians long enough to become perfect masters of their language and disposition. CHAP.
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1767.

Another measure recommended was, that interpreters should be provided at the different posts, with salaries sufficiently large to make it an object for them to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Indian tongue. As the Indians considered it a mark of respect, to be spoken with through an interpreter, this measure was deemed very essential. Good interpreters, however, it was very difficult to find, and he was, therefore, often under the necessity of delivering his speeches himself. As an illustration of the mistakes committed by ignorant interpreters, the writer alluded to an occurrence of recent date. It so happened that a Boston divine, having expressed a desire to preach to the Indians in the vicinity of Johnson Hall, chose for his text, "for God is no respecter of persons." The interpreter in explaining this sentiment told the Indians, "that God had no love for such people as they." Sir William, immediately interfered, and not only corrected the error, but interpreted the remainder of the discourse, to prevent farther blunders. "Had I not been present," he writes, "the error must have passed, and many more might have been committed in the course of the sermon."

One great cause, hitherto, of the difficulty which had been experienced in redressing Indian grievances, and bringing the offenders to justice, was the fact that no Indian was allowed to give testimony in court against that of a white. This injustice the Baronet proposed to remedy, by the passage of a law, providing that the testimony of all Indians who had embraced Christianity, should be admitted in civil and criminal actions; and farther, that the accusations of those, who did not profess the Christian faith, should be reduced to writing, to which juries might attach as much credit as their judgment should dictate.

CHAP. XV. If these several suggestions, added Sir William in his
 1767. } summing up, were carried out, a marked improvement
 in the condition of the Indians would soon be apparent,
 and the expenses of his department materially diminished.¹

Although the Baronet was warmly attached to the church of England, he was by no means sectarian in his feelings; and at this time, he was in correspondence with Doctor Wheelock, in relation to the removal of the Moor Charity School into the valley of the Mohawk. Various reasons seemed to require a change in the location of the school, and Sir William was in hopes of having it permanently established in his vicinity. The jealousy, however, of the ecclesiastics of Albany, thwarted his wishes; and Governor Wentworth having, in the meantime, granted to the school a township on the eastern bank of the Connecticut river, it was removed thither in the fall of 1769, receiving a charter under the name of Dartmouth College, in honor of its chief patron, the earl of Dartmouth.

In December, three Cherokee chieftains—Little Carpenter, Great Warrior, and Raven King—accompanied by six warriors and an interpreter, arrived in New York, on their way to Johnson Hall. They were kindly received by the commander-in-chief, and sent forward in a sloop to Albany. Thence, accompanied by Colonel Philip Schuyler as an escort, they rode up on horseback to Fort Johnson; and on the last day but one of the year they reached the hall,—there to be domiciled, until the Confederacy, by belts and messages, should be notified of their arrival.

¹“Review of the progressive state of the trade &c.,” by Sir William Johnson. *N. Y. Col. Doc.*

CHAPTER XVI.

1768-1769.

The prospect for a favorable reception of the belts summoning the Six Nations to meet their ancient enemies, the Cherokees, was not flattering. The borderers, more savage than the she-wolf, still shot down from ambuscades every unoffending Indian that came in their path; and when, in January, the White Mingo with eleven others was murdered, and his assassin rescued from justice by a mob of whites, the patience with which the Indians had borne taunts and insults for the past three years, began to give way. In defiance, moreover, of the king's proclamation in 1763, settlers, chiefly from Virginia, had, within the past year, crossed the Alleghanies, and begun settlements along the Monongahela, and Red Stone creek; and although General Gage, at the request of the Baronet, had ordered them to remove, yet the only notice taken of his commands had been the sowing of fresh crops, and the clearing of new fields. All the tribes, but especially the Six Nations, witnessed these proceedings with fear and anger. They had offered, they said, in the congress at the German Flats, in 1765, to give up all the land east of the Ohio to the English for a fair consideration, but their offer had never been accepted; notwithstanding which, the whites scrupled not to establish themselves upon their land. "I wish that boundary," wrote Croghan to the Baronet at this time, "had never been mentioned to them, or that his majesty had before now, ordered it confirmed. Indians cannot bear disappointments or delays, when they expect to get anything; and nothing now will, in my opinion, prevent a war, but taking a cession from them, and paying them for their lands."

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1768.

CHAP. XVI. The apprehensions of the deputy appeared well ground-
 1768. ed. "Brethren," spoke the Senecas in January, with a large belt, to the Delawares and Shawanese, "those lands are yours as well as ours; God gave them to us to live upon, and before the white people shall have them for nothing, we will sprinkle the leaves with their blood, or die every man in the attempt." Secret belts and messages, borne by swift runners through the western tribes, summoned the Indians to a great congress to be held in the Shawanese country in March. In reply to Croghan's question, why the congress was called, the Delawares replied that they knew not; yet while they thus spoke, the fiery glances shot askance from their eyes, told a different story, and their preparations still went on. Several bateaux, loaded with goods for the Indian trade, were stopped on the Ohio and robbed of their ammunition; and tomahawks and scalping knives, that had long lain rusty and blunted, were now raked from among the rubbish of wigwams, and polished and sharpened with grim satisfaction. It was evident that the colonies were upon the very brink of another Indian war.

Alarmed at length at these demonstrations, the meaning of which was clear to the dullest mind, the assembly of Pennsylvania, in February, voted twenty-five hundred pounds, to be placed in the Baronet's hands for distribution, at the approaching council, among those Indians who had lost kindred along the frontiers.¹ But this attempt to patch up Indian grievances did not suit the ideas of the superintendent, who was fearful that presents, like a remedy too often applied, had lost their efficacy. Accordingly on the reception of the appropriation, while he thanked the assembly for it, he wrote, that *good laws vigorously enforced*, would be the best guaranty against Indian resentment.²

Notwithstanding these untoward circumstances, the

¹ Manuscript letter; Croghan to Johnson 17th Feb., 1768.

² Manuscript letter: Johnson to James Galloway [speaker of the assembly of Penn.] 29th Feb., 1768.

third day of spring found the Six Nations and their allies, ^{CHAP. XVI.} assembled at Johnson Hall. The Indians, however, came not as of old, ^{1768.} with shouts of glee and cheerful looks, but dropped along one after another, with laggard steps and scowling brows. Previous to opening the council, the Baronet held several private conferences with the principal chiefs, all of whom, as he had feared, seemed so greatly incensed at the recent outrages perpetrated upon them, that he had, at first, but little hopes of mollifying their resentment. It is true that a few of the older sachems, who were warmly attached to his person, lamented the threatening rupture; but even they saw not how it could be avoided. All agreed that the late murder of the white Mingo, was a prelude to still farther hostile designs—which idea, the settlements west of the Alleghanies tended to confirm, especially as a few of those who could read, had lately seen in the newspapers discussions regarding the feasibility of settling the rich lands beyond the Ohio. “When our young men,” said they, “wish to go hunting in our country, they find it covered with fences, so that they are weary crossing them; neither can they get venison to eat, or bark to make huts, for the beasts are run away, and the trees are cut down.” Their resentment was, moreover, the more difficult to overcome inasmuch as it was just. It so happened, however, that Sir William had received in February, through Governor Moore, the news of the king’s determination to have the boundary line at once settled. The intention of his majesty was, therefore, now communicated to the sachems, and with such good effect, that they soon relaxed into good humor; and laying aside their revengeful feelings, signified their willingness to enter at once upon the treaty with the Cherokees. Accordingly, the council was opened on the following morning, which, lasting for eight days, terminated in a joint treaty between the Six Nations, their allies, and the Cherokee deputies. Sir William then, with a belt, figuratively pulled up by the roots the largest pine tree he could find, under which the axe that

CHAP. had killed the White Mingo was thrown, and the tree
 XVI. replaced. The presents, voted by the assembly of Penn-
 1768. sylvania, were thereupon distributed among those who had lost kindred along the border, and the meeting was broken up—not, however, until the chiefs had promised to be in readiness, whenever they should be summoned, to aid in adjusting the question of the boundary.¹

Thus, through the tact of the superintendent, was the war which had lately seemed so imminent once more averted. Deprived of the support of the Six Nations, and without a leader—for Pontiac, despite of the continued seductions of the French and Spaniards, remained true—the congress of the western nations came to naught; the scalping knife was sheathed; and the savages, with suppressed curses, slunk away to their wigwams.

Owing to the large number of Indians in attendance, the council had been held in the open air, and Sir William, who had consequently been obliged to remain standing in the snow for hours together, took a violent cold, which, bringing on his old complaint, confined him to his room for several weeks. As soon as he was able to travel, which was not until the close of April, he went by the advice of his physician to the sea side, where he remained nearly three months, dividing his time between New London and the eastern end of Long Island.²

¹ Sir William Johnson to the minister, 14th March, 1768; Proceedings of the council, held at Johnson Hall, March 4—12, 1768.

² The following directions for his journey to New London, which I find among his private papers, may be of interest to the curious.

“From Albany to Fitches, 8 miles.

“From Fitches to Kinderhook.

“From Kinderhook to Hogebooms.

“Lovejoys at Nobletown.

“Then over the Taconic Mountains to Captain Spencers at Egremont, but Barrington which is near it, is a better stage.

“Thence to Noble's at Sheffield.

“Lawrence at Canaan.

“The widow Segewick.

“Baldwin at Litchfield.

“Cole at Farmington.”

The colonial history of New York would be imperfect, without an allusion to the controversy concerning the great patent of KAYADEROSSERAS;—a controversy, which lasting for upward of half a century, was finally terminated, mainly through the agency of the Baronet, in July of the present year. CHAP.
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1768.

In the spring of 1703, Samson Shelton Broughton, attorney general of the province, in behalf of himself and twelve others, obtained from Governor Cornbury a license to purchase the “tract of vacant and unappropriated land in the county of Albany, called or known by the Indian name of Kayaderosseras.”¹ In pursuance of this license, Broughton, in the fall of the following year, purchased of the Mohawks for a trifling consideration sufficient land, as the Indians understood it, “to make a small farm.” Having thus obtained the land, the purchasers, under semblance of their deed, procured in November, 1708, a grant from the crown of all the land lying between the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, extending from Coic falls near the junction of those streams, to the third, or as it is now called, Baker’ falls, on the Hudson, and containing about seven hundred thousand acres! Owing, however, to the jealousy and watchfulness of the Indians, the original Proprietaries, having obtained their patent, had taken no farther steps for many years; and up to the year 1764, it had never been surveyed.² From this apparent indisposition of the Proprietaries to take advantage of their purchase, the Mohawks gradually lost the solicitude with which they had at first regarded the transaction; and although at the great congress in 1754, they had

¹ The grant was “to her [Queen Ann] loving subjects, Naning Hermanse, Johannes Beekman, Rip Van Dam, Ann Bridges, Mary Bickley, Peter Fannouner, Adrian Hogelandt, Johannes Fisher, John Tudor, Jorris Hogelandt, John Stevens, John Tatham and Samson Broughton,” and was “for all that tract of land situated, lying and being in the county of Albany, called Kayadorosseras, alias Queensborough.”

² Manuscript letter; Sir William Johnson to Lieut. Col. Charles Lee, 26th December, 1764.

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 1768. alluded to it, yet they supposed that all claim upon the land had been entirely relinquished. In 1764, however, the dispute was renewed with increased bitterness. It happened that in the spring of that year, three or four families settled at the confluence of the Kayaderosseras creek and Lake Saratoga. These squatters were discovered about a month after their settlement by a hunting party of Mohawks, who, incensed at the presumption of the whites in settling upon their best hunting ground, ordered them peremptorily to leave; and upon their return to their castles, six of the lower Mohawk chiefs, among whom was Abraham the brother of King Hendrik, waited upon the Baronet on the twentieth of September, and demanded that the settlers should be removed, and that the claim of the Proprietaries to the Kayaderosseras land be immediately relinquished.¹ Convinced of the justice of their demand, Sir William immediately wrote to Lieutenant Governor Colden, giving an account of the fraudulent manner in which the patent had been obtained, and soliciting the influence of himself and his council, in procuring redress. But his exertions did not end here. In the fall session of the assembly, he endeavored to prevail on that body to vacate the patent on the ground of fraud; and a bill was accordingly introduced for that purpose. The influence however, of those members who were interested in other patents of perhaps equally equivocal origin, and who therefore dreaded its passage as a precedent, defeated the bill on several frivolous

¹ Manuscript minutes of conference at Johnson Hall, 20th Sept., 1764.

Manuscript letter; Sir William Johnson to General Gage, 27th Feb., 1765.

In the course of Abraham's remarks at this conference, the sachem said. "We assisted the English to conquer the French, thinking that when that people had been brought to reason, we and our young men should sit down and enjoy peace agreeably to what was told us. But, brother, to our very great concern, we understand from many people, that in a short time, some of our brethren are determined to deprive us of the chief tract of hunting land we have left, called Kayaderosseras, which we never could learn, from the most strict inquiry made several years ago, had been sold by our nation. Wherefore we must say, if that is to be the case, *we are much deceived in the opinion we ever entertained of our brethren's honesty.*"

grounds, among which was, that to vacate it would be to impugn the character of the governor who had granted the patent.¹ Disappointed in his hopes of obtaining justice from the assembly, Sir William next appealed directly to the council, who in the spring of the following year (1765) directed the attorney general, Kempe, to proceed against the Proprietaries by the writ of *scire facias*. This, however, was not satisfactory to the Baronet. "I must observe to you," he wrote to General Gage, "that there is little or no prospect of procuring justice by a trial on a *scire facias*, which I consider as only proposed at New York, that in case of any bad consequences hereafter arising from that patent, the people below might affirm that they offered to inquire into the fraud, though in fact it is doing nothing at all; for they well know the little subterfuges and quirks of the lawyers in any trial at common law, they being interested in the decision, and a patent being deemed a sufficient title at common law, however it might have been obtained."² Meanwhile, the cause of the Mohawks was taken up by the entire Confederacy, and the dissatisfaction of the Indians became so alarming, that Sir William, in his correspondence with the board of trade, used his utmost endeavors to have the patent vacated by an act of parliament. At length, alarmed at his persistent efforts to obtain redress, and dreading lest he should succeed, the Proprietaries offered to compromise the matter by relinquishing a part of the patent, and paying to the Mohawks a certain sum of money. This proposition, however, on being submitted to that nation in full council, was declined on the

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¹ Amongst the little, fallacious arguments made by the house against making it is, that the reason they [the Proprietaries] assign, why it has not been settled is, that it was exposed to the excursions of the enemy. They do not choose to recollect that I settled one hundred families during the heat of that war on my estate, which lies many miles distant from that tract to the north west, and consequently infinitely more exposed."—*Manuscript letter: Johnson to Gage, 4 May, 1765.*

² *Manuscript letter; Johnson to Gage, 4 May, 1765.*

CHAP. ground that the consideration offered was too small, and
 XVI. the attempt at compromise failed.

1768. Thus the matter rested until May of this year, when the Proprietaries waited upon the governor, and gave him full power to settle the affair with the Mohawks as he should judge best. Accordingly, in June, Sir Henry Moore visited the Mohawk country, and called the Indians to a council. But when the meeting was opened, it was found that not only had the agent of the patentees forgotten to bring the original Indian deed, but that the creek to which the Proprietaries desired to extend their claim, had never been surveyed. All negotiation was therefore at an end, and after considerable altercation, the meeting was dissolved. In the meantime, by order of the governor, the patent was carefully surveyed; and toward the close of July, Sir William having returned by way of Saratoga Springs from the sea side, a conference was again held with the Mohawks, when the results of the survey were laid before the sachems. Both parties being now able to judge with certainty what was claimed by each, an amicable adjustment was soon reached. By the conditions of the agreement, the patentees relinquished all the land westward of the kill opposite Tweektonondo hill to the northwestern head of Kayadorosseras creek, and took for their north western boundary a line drawn from the head of that creek to the third falls on the Hudson river,—the Mohawks, on their part, giving up all claim to the remainder of the patent, on their receiving from the Proprietaries the sum of five thousand dollars.¹

It has already been seen, that the delay in settling the boundary, which had been talked of at the treaty of the German Flats in 1765, was a continual source of irrita-

¹ Governor Moore to the minister, 4 July, 1768.

Governor Moore to the minister, 17 Aug. 1768.

Sir Wm. Johnson to the minister, 17 Aug. 1768.

Manuscript correspondence between Sir Wm. Johnson and Atty. Gen. Kempe for the years—1766, 1767, 1768.

tion to the Six Nations. In view of this, Sir William, in the autumn of that year, and also during the summer of 1766, had written to the board of¹ trade, urging the necessity of at once adjusting the line; but his letters had been mislaid, and up to the beginning of the present year he had received no instructions regarding it.

But aside from the dissatisfaction of the Indians, there were other cogent reasons, existing in the minds of many, why the boundary question should be settled. Since the occupation of the Illinois by the English, the Indian trade had not been found as remunerative as was anticipated. French traders still retained their hold upon the tribes of the west, and all efforts, hitherto, to divert the trade into a different channel had been only partially successful. The Spaniards were more busy than ever in securing an interest with the Indians, of which they availed themselves in drawing away the trade; and it was soon evident that Fort Chartres offered but feeble opposition to New Orleans and St. Louis.¹ The wealthy trading companies of the eastern cities witnessed this state of affairs with alarm; and after many consultations among themselves, it was decided that the only method, by which the Indian trade could be made profitable, would be the purchase of a large tract of land south of the Ohio, upon which permanent settlements could be established. This project was first set on foot in the spring of 1766, at which time, Governor Franklin of New Jersey wrote to the Baronet, proposing, in case the land could be purchased from the Six Nations, that he, together with Governor Moore and General Gage, should enter into the proposed company as an equal partner. Although the Baronet had no intention of connecting himself with the company at this time,² yet the project, itself, struck him favorably.

¹ Manuscript letter; Croghan to Johnson, Oct, 1767.

Manuscript letter; Johnson to Lt. Col. Massey, 20 Nov. 1768.

² Manuscript letters; Sir William Johnson to different individuals in the company.

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 1768. "There is little doubt," he wrote in reply, "but that the intended settlement may be productive of a regular civil government in that valuable country, and this, too, without doing violence to, or overreaching the Indians, which from sentiments of policy as well as justice should be always cautiously avoided."¹ On receiving this answer, Governor Franklin wrote to his father, who was then in London, requesting him to make application for a grant from the crown; and, at the same time, Sir William wrote to the ministry, warmly recommending the plan of the proposed colony. Other interests, however, were at work in high quarters. The original grant to the old Ohio company was still in dispute; and its agent, Colonel George Mercer, aided by powerful influence, was urging its settlement. The bounty lands which had been promised by Governor Dinwiddie, in 1754, were still unapportioned, and those troops who had enlisted under his proclamation, had also agents pressing vigorously their claims. The British cabinet, moreover, were divided on the policy of establishing a colony so far from the sea-board—Shelburne approving of the new colony, and Hillsborough being opposed to it.² Under these untoward circumstances, therefore, the project did not receive as much encouragement as it otherwise would; and although the company was actually formed under the name of the Walpole Company—after an eminent capitalist of that name—no farther steps were at that time taken.³

Meanwhile, late in the winter of 1767, the letters of the superintendent were found, and, in January of this year, Shelburne authorized the Baronet to adjust the boundary with the Six Nations at once. "It will also be proper," wrote the minister, "to consult with the different governors

¹ Manuscript letter: Sir Wm. Johnson to Gov. Franklin, 3 May, 1768.

² North American Review for July, 1839, p. 108.

³ In 1770 the Ohio company was merged in Walpole's, and in 1772 received the royal sanction. In consequence of the Revolution, however, both grants were forfeited.

concerning such particular points as may affect the several provinces separately, in order that the work may be carried through with cordiality and dispatch." Accordingly, Sir William appointed the twentieth of September for the meeting of the congress at Fort Stanwix, as being the most central; notice of which was immediately given to the Six Nations, their dependents, and the governors of those provinces that were more particularly interested in its result. CHAP.
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On the nineteenth of September, Sir William, with his three deputies, Guy Johnson, Daniel Claus, and George Croghan, accompanied by Governor Franklin of New-Jersey, arrived at Fort Stanwix, bringing with him twenty large bateaux, loaded with such presents as were best suited to propitiate the Indians. On their arrival, the party found the Virginia commissioners awaiting them; and on the following day, Lieutenant Governor Penn with the commissioners from Pennsylvania also arrived. In behalf of those traders who had suffered in Pontiac's war, Messrs. Wharton and Trent were also present, clothed with a power of attorney from their principals, for the purpose of obtaining redress in lands according to the article in the treaty of 1765. The Indians were not as punctual in their attendance. The Senecas were detained by the sudden death of a sachem, and the Delawares and Shawanese were held back by belts sent among them by the French and Spaniards; so that by the first day of October, only eight-hundred had assembled. This number, however, was sufficiently large to rapidly diminish the provisions, that had been sent up from Albany for their subsistence; and fears were entertained that the larder would be emptied before the congress was concluded.¹ Belts were accordingly sent out to hasten the arrival of the laggards,

¹ Among the items of provisions ordered, by the Baronet, for this congress of his agent at Albany, are, sixty barrels of flour, fifty barrels of pork, six barrels of rice, and seventy barrels of provisions of various kinds.—*Manuscript letter; Johnson to Glen, 27 July, 1768.*

CHAP. and on the twenty-fourth, thirty-two hundred having arriv-
 XVI. ed, the congress was opened with the usual ceremonies.¹

1768. Two days having been occupied in condoling with the Indians on the loss of those of their number who had died during the past year, rekindling the council fire and strengthening the covenant chain, Sir William, on the twenty-sixth, laid before the Indian deputies the business that had summoned them at this time. Those grievances, he said, which for so many years they had suffered through the want of a boundary, the king had resolved to have forever terminated. In accordance with this decision, he had received the royal command to call them together; and after conferring with those provinces interested in this matter, they now saw before them the Governors of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, and the commissioners from Virginia, ready to assure them, in behalf of their respective governments, that a due deference should be paid to whatever was now entered into. His majesty had also directed him to give them a handsome proof of his generosity, proportioned to the nature and extent of the lands that should fall to him; and he hoped therefore that their deliberations would be harmonious. "The importance of this affair now before us," he added, "requires the most serious attention. I will therefore not burden you with any other subject until this is settled, and we will adjourn that you may have time to think of it, and come fully prepared to give an agreeable answer."

The Baronet was answered by Sachem Abraham. The subject under discussion, he said, was weighty and required much deliberation. The Six Nations would retire and consult among themselves, and as soon as they had decided on their answer he should be duly notified. The meeting was then adjourned.

Six days were consumed by the deputies in private conferences; which interval the Baronet employed in clothing several of the older chiefs, and in frequent informal coun-

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to Col. Massey, 20th Nov., 1768.

cils with the influential Sachems upon the matter in hand. At length their deliberations were ended; and on the first of November, Sir William, the royal governors, and the commissioners having assembled in full council, the Indians, through their speaker, reported on the line which they had fixed upon as the boundary. It was essentially the same as the one they had proposed at the German Flats. Beginning at the mouth of the Tennessee river, it followed the Ohio and Alleghany rivers to Kittaning; thence in a direct line to the nearest fork of the west branch of the Susquehannah; and thence following that stream through the Alleghanies, it passed, by way of Burnett's Hills and the eastern branch of the Susquehannah and the Delaware, into New York, having its northern terminus at the confluence of Canada and Wood creeks.

The line, thus proposed, was not in accordance with the instructions of the board of trade. Hillsborough, who had succeeded the liberal Shelburne as colonial secretary, and was bitterly opposed to any settlements in the interior, wished to have the line extended no farther than the mouth of the great Kenawha, where it would then meet the line which Stuart, at a council in South Carolina, had recently established with the Cherokees as the western boundary of Virginia. The temper, however, of the Confederate deputies at this time rendered it impossible for the Baronet to follow strictly his instructions, without defeating the very object of the congress. The Six Nations claimed the country south of the Ohio as theirs by right of conquest, and positively refused to agree upon any boundary, whatever, unless their claim was recognized. Had their minds not been so embittered by a long course of injustice, it would have been much easier to have brought them to terms;—as it was, they knew that they had the advantage, and they kept it.¹ There were other reasons,

¹ "The distance of time since the first proposal of the boundary, and the artifices practised upon them since, with a variety of other concurring circumstances, had made the boundary appear in a very different light to

CHAP. also, which caused the superintendent to deviate from his
 XV. instructions. The richness of the soil south of the Ohio
 1768. was already well known to the enterprising inhabitants of
 Virginia; and knowing their adventurous spirit, the Baro-
 net was convinced that if that region was not ceded by
 the Indians, settlements would soon be begun there—
 proclamations to the contrary notwithstanding—a proceed-
 ing which would again plunge the colonies into all the
 horrors of another Indian war. Presuming, therefore,
 upon that latitude which had always been allowed him in
 his dealings with the Indians; and believing that the
 claims of the Six Nations were just,¹ he took a deed, on
 the fifth of November, from the latter to the king, of all
 the land embraced in the boundary as agreed on by their
 chiefs.

That Sir William, in this negotiation, may have had
 in view the interests of the Walpole company, is very
 possible; but that he would have consented to the pur-
 chase, had he not been convinced of the right of the Con-
 federacy to the ceded territory, and that it was, moreover,
 the true policy of the mother country to extend the line
 to the Tennessee, is not to be credited. Indeed the strict

the Indians than before, and consequently rendered it a work of much
 difficulty." *Manuscript letter; Johnson to Gage, 13 Nov. 1768.*

"Indeed, the time elapsed since they were first spoken to concerning a
 boundary, had made them all view it in a very indifferent and disadvantageous
 light." *Manuscript letter; Johnson to Wm. Allen, 20th Nov., 1768.*

¹ "I flatter myself that the proceedings which regard the continuation of
 the boundary to the Cherokee [Tennessee] river can have no ill effect.
 What I have done is only resting the claim of the northern Indians (which
 would always hang over that country) in the crown. THE CHEROKEES IN
 MY PRESENCE AND AT MY HOUSE MANY YEARS AGO, CLAIMED NO FARTHER, and
 all the other nations have ever considered that, as the Six Nation's bounds;
 but should it now be viewed otherwise, the principal claim is removed, and
 the crown has only to settle with the southern Indians concerning it; and
 should they refuse to give it up, it is in his majesty's power to prevent the
 colonies from availing themselves of the late session in that quarter, till it can
 be done with safety and the common consent of all who have just pretensions
 to it, which I believe will be easily obtained." *Manuscript letter; Johnson to
 Gage, 16 Dec., 1768.*

integrity that ever characterized his dealings, sufficiently
proves the contrary.¹

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Three other deeds were given during this congress. One to William Trent, of a tract between the Kenawha and Monongahela, as an indemnity to the traders; another to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, of the Wyoming lands; and a third to George Croghan, confirming two grants, which the Six Nations had given to the latter in 1766, of thirteen hundred acres of land on the Alleghany river. The sum of ten thousand dollars in goods and money was then paid to the Six Nations, as the consideration for the land ceded to the crown; and the congress having been dissolved on the evening of the fifth of November, the Baronet on the following day returned home. Fort Stanwix shortly after was dismantled by order of the commander-in-chief; and amid its desolation, stood a fitting emblem of that people, who within its walls had so recently bartered away their birthright.²

Such was the treaty of Fort Stanwix, remarks a writer in the *North American Review*, "whereon rests the title by purchase to Kentucky, western Virginia, and Pennsylvania." Yet it was a vain hope, for either cabinet minister, or rude savage, to think, by a paper boundary, to alter the Divine decrees. The star of empire that guided the frail bark of Columbus to the new world, still held its western course. The beautiful valleys and rolling praries of Kentucky and the Illinois were too tempting to be resisted. New companies, directed by the energy of Washington and Lee, sprung up to fertilize the vast expanse now opened Daniel Boone, in the spring and summer of 1769, crossed the mountains, and explored the valleys of the west; other hardy pioneers followed; and soon the axe of the frontiersman echoed through forests beyond the Wabash.

¹ Vide Bancroft, vol. vi, line 4, p. 228.

² Sir William Johnson to Hillsborough, 23d Oct., 1768. Ibid, 18th Nov., 1767. "Proceedings of Sir William Johnson with the Indians at Fort Stanwix to settle a boundary line."

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1768.

The assembly having expired by its septennial limitation on the sixth of February, writs were issued for a new election, returnable on the twenty-second of the following month. Owing, however, to the governor having no special business to lay before the house, the new assembly was not convened until the twenty-seventh of October. The opening speech of the governor related chiefly to the Indian trade, which his majesty had been pleased henceforward to confide to the colonies. "The advantages," said the governor, "arising not only from the intercourse of trade with the Indians, but from the maintenance of that tranquility among them which subsists at present, are so obvious as to require no arguments to enforce them. I shall, therefore, only recommend to you, that, to avoid any future cause of dissatisfaction or jealousy being given, you will, by the most effectual laws, prevent any settlements being made beyond the line, which shall be agreed on by the Indians." In their reply, on the third of November, the house expressed its willingness to coöperate with the governor in any measures for the better regulation of the Indian trade; and, indeed, for the first two weeks of the session, nothing occurred to ruffle the general harmony of its proceedings. The critical posture of the province to the mother country, however, forbade that this state of quiescence should be lasting; and it was not long before a direct issue arose between the governor and his assembly.

The right of parliament to tax America was still discussed with great freedom in all the colonies, but in none with more vigor than in Massachusetts. In February, the assembly of that province had addressed a circular letter, drafted by Samuel Adams, to her sister colonies, in which the "great evils to which the inhabitants of America were subjected from the operation of several acts of parliament imposing taxes upon them," were set forth, and their coöperation solicited in obtaining redress. This proceeding, as may readily be imagined, gave great offense to the ministry; and Lord Hillsborough forthwith addressed a

letter upon the subject to the several colonial governors, requesting that their assemblies should treat the circular letter with silent contempt. But the resentment of the mother country toward Massachusetts was not satisfied. It was determined to still farther disgrace her, by detaching a strong military force to occupy her capital. The rumor that such a step was meditated by the crown caused considerable comment, and when, on the twenty-eighth of September, two British regiments, accompanied by seven men-of-war, arrived at Boston from Halifax, the indignation, not only in Massachusetts, but in those colonies that sympathized with her, became intense. In Connecticut numerous town meetings were held, in which it was resolved, first, "to seek the Lord, by general fasting, prayer and humiliation, and then to call a convention of ninety-two persons to determine what was to be done in the present difficulties and distress."¹ In New York city, especially, the Sons of Liberty felt deeply the indignity offered to their sister colony; and in their first ebullition of anger, indignation meetings were held, and Governor Bernard, and his sheriff, burned in effigy.

Such was the state of public sentiment, when, on the fourteenth of November, Sir Henry Moore laid before the house the Earl of Hillsborough's letter, forbidding correspondence with Massachusetts, and called upon it to render a cheerful obedience to the wishes of the secretary. This action of the governor was met by a warm remonstrance from the assembly; and when, a few days after, the former threatened to dissolve it in case of its not complying, it unhesitatingly refused obedience. The bold stand, thus assumed, was warmly seconded by public opinion, as appears conspicuously in the newspapers and private correspondence of the day. A series of articles, which had recently appeared under the title of "Letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania to the inhabitants of the British colonies," had paved the way for a fearless utter-

¹ Manuscript letter; J. Moffatt to Johnson, Sept. 1768.

CHAP. ^{XVI.}
 1768. } ance against ministerial oppression. "Let these truths," said the leaders of the people in New York, "be indelibly impressed upon our minds, that we cannot be free without being secure in our property; that we cannot be secure in our property, if without our consent, others may, as by right, take it away; that taxes imposed by parliament do thus take it away; that duties, laid for the sole purpose of raising money, are taxes; and that attempts to lay such should be instantly and firmly opposed."

While, however, the assembly were thus firm in maintaining its constitutional rights and privileges, it evinced no disposition to countenance acts of lawless violence; and in reply to a message from the governor on the twenty-third, asking its aid in bringing to punishment the ring-leaders in a recent riot, it reported a series of resolutions, which distinctly set forth, that although it felt deeply the course of parliament toward them, yet so far from approving of any violent proceedings, it would on all occasions endeavor to support the dignity and authority of government. The riot, to which allusion is here made, had occurred on the fourteenth of November, and had been the result of new exactions, by way of imposts, of the parliament upon the colonies; and while the reply of the house, as intimated, strongly censured the rioters, yet it also condemned the new duties in terms equally severe. This address gave little satisfaction to the representative of the crown; and on the last day of the year, it was followed by a series of strong constitutional resolutions, among which was one, declaring that it was the opinion of the committee, "that the house had an undoubted right to correspond and consult with any of the neighboring colonies on any matter, subject or thing whatever, whereby they should conceive the rights and liberties of the house, to be in any way affected."¹

1769. These resolutions gave high displeasure; and Sir Henry Moore, having convened the assembly in the City Hall on

¹ Journals of the assembly.

the afternoon of the third of January, dissolved it by a speech of evident irritation, yet of affected regret and sorrow at the occasion demanding the summary measure. Writs for a new election were immediately issued, returnable on the fourteenth of February. The people, however, sustained the action of their representatives; and all the former members, with the exception of six, were returned by overwhelming majorities.

Such was the result of the first direct appeal of the crown to the people, on the subject of the great constitutional principles of liberty, which were now beginning to agitate the political waters to their deepest fountains.

CHAPTER XVII.

1769-1770.

CHAP. XVII. 1769. At no time in its history, had the Confederacy of the Six Nations been in so calm a state as at the opening of the present year. It is true that an occasional brush with the Paxton men caused, at times, some uneasiness; but those land disputes, which had been a source of so much irritation, were now mostly settled; while the recent adjustment of the boundary appeared as if the whites were in future disposed to act fairly. Within the past year, moreover, efforts had been made by the principal sachems to lead back those of their number, who had strayed into lands far removed from their ancient fire-place; and generally with success. Those of the Tuscaroras, who had remained in the Carolinas, had followed their kindred; the Onondagas of Swegatchie and the Sault St. Louis again slept in the lodges of their fathers; and the Senecas of the Ohio were gradually finding their way back to Chenussio. Indian teachers, educated by Doctor Wheelock, and supported at the private expense of Sir William Johnson, were quietly diffusing among the tribes a taste for reading and peaceful avocations. The brazen age of the Confederacy seemed rapidly giving way to the golden.¹

¹ One of these teachers was a Mohegan Indian, Joseph Johnson, who was born at Mohegan in 1750. He was the son of Capt. Joseph Johnson, who served near Lake George in the French war of 1757, and who was a man of piety. After he had been employed some two years, among the Six Nations, he became for a time a wanderer. Returning from a whaling voyage, in 1771, he repaired to his farm in Mohegan, and there in a time of sickness brought on by his vices, became a Christian convert by reading the New Testament and Baxter's *Saint's Rest*. It would seem, from his journal, which is still preserved, that he experienced the deepest convic-

The tranquility that now prevailed, afforded Sir William an opportunity of carrying out a plan which he had long meditated for the improvement of his special protégés, the Mohawks. The mission established by the Rev. Mr. Barclay between the Lower Mohawk Castle and Albany, since he had become the rector of Trinity Church, had been without a settled pastor—a circumstance which had been a source of much vexation both to the Indians and the Baronet. Accordingly, in the early spring, the latter, at his own expense, began the erection of a handsome little church at Canajoharie, designed expressly for the use of the Mohawks of the Upper and Lower Castles. Owing, however, to the necessity of bringing most of the building materials from New York city, the church was not completed and thoroughly furnished until June of the following year; when, a new supply of Indian prayer books having been received from Hugh Gaine, it was opened for divine worship on the seventeenth of that month, Rev. Harry Munro from Albany, at the invitation of Sir William, preaching the dedication sermon.¹

While the Baronet was thus engaged, he entertained, in March, at the Hall, Professors Danford and Willard of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who were on their way to Lake Superior to observe the transit of Venus. Fears were entertained that the jealousy of the western nations might be excited at the mathematical instruments,—sus-

tion of sin. Afterward he was licensed to preach, and was for years a missionary in the state of New York.

¹ In writing to his agent in New York, for the different materials for this church, the Baronet mentions the following items: "To get a ball made and gilt; also a weathercock, and all the iron work necessary to fix them. They are to be proportioned to the building, which is a wooden church now a building at Canajoharie, of 50 ft. long by 32 wide. Also a bell, £13 or £20 in price." MS. letter, Johnson to John Wetherhead, 17th Feb., 1769. This little church is still standing in the town of Danube, Herkimer Co., N. Y. The same old bell still hangs in the belfry. Tradition states that during the revolution this bell was carried off by the Indians, who on being pursued cast it into the Mohawk, whence it was afterwards fished out and restored to its place.

CHAP. XVII. } peeting that they were to be used in surveying their coun-
 1769. } try,—and although they were armed with a pass from
 General Gage, requesting the commanding officer at
 Michilimackinac to explain to the Indians the object of
 their visit, yet they desired to have the benefit of such
 suggestions from the superintendent as would best facili-
 tate the object of their journey.

In the election which took place, as stated in the last chapter, almost immediately after the dissolution of the assembly, the Baronet did not take his usual active part. This was owing to the fact, that one of the candidates for reëlection to the assembly from Albany county was Colonel Philip Schuyler, between whom and himself a coolness had recently arisen. The cause of the estrangement was as follows: During the last session of the assembly, Colonel Schuyler, chafed at some opposition in his last election, in the Spring of 1768, from Sir John Johnson, and believing it to have emanated from the father, (although this was not the case,) made a motion for an act to prevent any member of the council interfering in future elections. Although the motion was negatived by a large majority, yet the Baronet, believing, in common with many of his friends, that this was intended for himself, felt aggrieved that one for whom he had always manifested a warm friendship, and one, moreover, whom he had but recently created a colonel as a special mark of favor, should have taken such a course. He was not a man, however, to brood in secret over a supposed injury, and he, therefore, in the middle of January, just previous to the election, wrote a letter to the colonel, stating that if the reports which he had heard were true, he could not give him his support. Colonel Schuyler, who, if he really designed the motion as a thrust at the Baronet, was not disinclined to have his influence in the coming canvas, immediately replied to Sir William's letter. His explanation, however, was evidently not satisfactory. "The several reports,"

wrote Sir William to an intimate friend, "that I have lately received of Phil. Schuyler's conduct towards me, are so correspondent that I have written him upon it; and although in his answer he appears very desirous of clearing up matters to my satisfaction, I find it will be necessary for me to have some little communication with him whenever I meet with an opportunity, as his answer sufficiently shows that he has been led into some capital errors relating to part of my late conduct, which he spoke of in the *late* assembly. However, I shall suspend my thoughts for a little time, as I am willing to suppose that a man whom I have never injured, and who has twice solicited for my interest, which I freely promised him, would hardly have insinuated anything with regard to me unless he had been excited—perhaps without any ill intention on his part.¹ Feeling, therefore, that he could not give him his cordial support, and being unwilling to oppose one who was known as the champion of the people against ministerial oppression, he took no active part in the election. Colonel Schuyler was accordingly reëlected by a large majority,—very much to the chagrin of Henry Van-Schaack, who was his strong political enemy. "The people down here," wrote the latter from Kinderhook to the Baronet, "almost to a man, were greatly disappointed that there was no opposition to the last elections, as they had flattering hopes of your interfering."²

In New York city the election was warmly contested. "I hear," wrote Sir William, jocularly, to a friend in New York, "that you are likely to have a hot election, and probably there will be work for shillalabs." Nor was the writer far out in his conjecture. At no time, for many years, had the excitement been more intense; and every means and device was made use of to secure votes.³

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to Major Moncrieffe, 26th Jan., 1769.

² Manuscript letter; Henry Van Schaack to Johnson, 20th March, 1769.

³ "It is surprising what trifles can be turned to the greatest advantage in elections, and be made to captivate the passions of the vulgar. A straw,

CHAP. XVII.
 1769. In the city, especially, the contest was between the church party and the dissenters—the former being led by the DeLanceys, and the latter by the Livingstons. The church, having the support of the mercantile and masonic interests, was triumphant; and John Cruger, James DeLancey, Jacob Walton, and James Jauncey, were elected by the city.¹

On the fourth of April the new assembly met. John Cruger was immediately chosen speaker, and it was not long before another proof was afforded of the strength of the church party in the house. “The De Lancey interest,” wrote Hugh Wallace, a member of the council, to Sir William, “prevails in the house greatly, and they have given the Livingston interest proof of it by dismissing P.

a fire-brand, have severally answered this purpose in a recent instance. It was said, during the last election, that T. Smith had said that the Irish were poor beggars, and had come over here upon a bunch of straw. The whole body of Irishmen immediately joined and appeared with straws in their hats. Mr. Kissam, who summed up the evidence for Mr. Scott in the late charge against Mr. Jauncey, happened to say that the passions of the Germans were fire-brands;—a whole congregation were, in consequence of that, resolved to vote with them in their hands; but being dissuaded, they however distinguished themselves by the name of the *Firebrands*. These gentlemen have also made themselves remarkable by a song in the German language, the chorus of which is,

“Maester Cruger, Delancey,
 Maester Walton and Jauncey.”

’Twas droll to see some of the first gentlemen in town joining in singing this song, while they conducted the members to the coffee house.” Letter P. Van Schaack to his brother Henry, 27th Jan., 1769.

¹ “I arrived here St. John’s day, when there was a grand procession of the whole fraternity, and a very excellent sermon preached by Dr. Auchmuty, at Trinity Church, on the occasion. At the same time a collection was made for the city, which I think amounted to £200. Would you think it—but it is true—that the Presbyterians immediately labored to convert this charitable affair to the disadvantage of the church of England, and the part which they take in the election ensuing? Will Smith and W. Livingston, got an old rascally sermon, called “*MASONRY THE SURE GUIDE TO HELL*,” reprinted and distributed it with great assiduity, * * and there is, this day, an extraordinary lodge held on the occasion in order to consult means to resent the affront.” *Manuscript letter; J. Weatherhead to Johnson*, 9th January, 1769.

Livingston the house as a non-resident." The Living-^{CHAP. XVII.}stons, however, were not entirely crushed, for the same writer adds: "Its said he will be returned again and again and so become another Wilkes."^{1769.}

The opening speech of Governor Moore contained not the remotest reference to the difficulties which had caused the recent dissolution; but referred only to the manner in which the colony's agent in London was appointed—a mode which his excellency thought objectionable—and asking for farther military appropriations. He was of opinion that the appointment of an agent should be made by an act of the governor, council, and assembly, specially passed for that purpose, as was done in the colonies of Virginia, Carolina, Georgia and the West India Islands, and had formerly been done in this.

The change in the manner of appointing the colonial agent had been first introduced during the administration of Governor Clinton, in 1747, in the appointment of Robert Charles without the former's privity or consent. Governor Clinton, it will be recollected, had complained bitterly at the time of the innovation, but without effect; and it was, therefore, not likely that an assembly, having had their own way in this matter for upwards of twenty years, would now yield. Accordingly, in their reply upon the eighth, they utterly declined adopting the mode which his excellency had recommended; declaring that it would be sacrificing the rights and diminishing the liabilities of their constituents to adopt any other mode of appointment than that which had been practiced in the colony for many years past. In reference, however, to that part of the governor's speech requesting certain military appropriations, they were not as decided. The sums, they said, that had been granted for the support of his majesty's troops in barracks were very considerable; the repeated application of monies to that purpose would effectually ruin a colony, whose trade, by unnatural restrictions and

¹ Manuscript letter; Hugh Wallace to Johnson, 13th May, 1769.

CHAP. XVII.
 1769. the want of a paper currency to supply the almost total deficiency of specie, had so much declined; in this unhappy situation, therefore, his excellency's requisition for fresh aid demanded their most serious consideration.

It was during the spring of this year, that the division of Albany county into two counties was first contemplated; and in the course of the present session, Colonel Schuyler moved for permission to bring in a bill for that purpose, which was granted. The author of this bill undoubtedly meant well, but his impulses occasionally led him into the commission of acts which infringed upon the rights of others. His action on the present occasion was by no means authorized by his constituents. The project had been merely talked of informally among a few; and the first intimation that those of the inhabitants, who were to form the population of the western division—and who were therefore entitled to an opinion—had of the proposed division, was upon hearing of Schuyler's motion in the house. The manner, moreover, in which it was proposed by the bill to divide the county was not agreeable to many, who were otherwise strongly in favor of a division. Among the latter was the Baronet. "Albany county," he wrote at this time, "is much too large, but the manner in which it is proposed to be divided is in many respects extremely inconvenient, and would prove disagreeable to almost all the inhabitants. The only rational boundary, it has appeared to me, and all I have conversed with, would be at the west bounds of the township of Schenectady, which is a well known place, where there is a good natural boundary, which could not interfere with any property or create the least confusion, as this proposed must do."¹ A petition was likewise drawn up by him, on behalf of those who were opposed to the bill as it then stood, and placed in the hands of Captain James De Lancey² to be

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to Hugh Wallace, May, 1769.

² James De Lancey of the city of New York, eldest son of James De Lancey, lieutenant-governor of New York, was in early life a captain in the

laid before the assembly. The decided opposition thus shown was successful. "The attempt to get Albany county divided," wrote Wallace to Johnson, "will not pass." The writer's prediction was correct. The bill was ordered to a second reading, and for the present dropped; and a few days after, on the twentieth of May, the assembly were prorogued by the governor to the month of July; not, however, until that body had voted, with a very ill grace, eighteen hundred pounds for the support of his majesty's troops quartered in the colony.¹

Meanwhile, late in May, an express arrived at Niagara from Detroit, bearing the startling intelligence that the western nations were again on the verge of a general insurrection, and that the garrison of that post had thrown themselves into the fort for its protection.² This news, moreover, seemed to receive confirmation, when a few days after, a friendly chief of the Mississageys came into Niagara and begged the traders to defer making their yearly visit to Detroit.³ The alarm became general. Hundreds of bateaux were at once stopped at the portage on their way to the frontier posts; and, in their terror, the settlers abandoned their farms from Bedford to Fort Pitt.

Happily, the fears of the Detroit garrison were not confirmed, the threatened outbreak resulting in the murder of two or three traders on the Ohio; but the horrors of Pontiac's war were too recent to be easily forgotten, while the known efforts of the French and Spanish traders, for the past two years, to incite the western savages to revolt,

British regular service, and was always called "Captain DeLancey," to distinguish him from his first cousin, James DeLancey of Westchester, afterwards the famous partizan colonel of the Westchester loyalists, otherwise known as the Cowboys.

¹ Mr. Lossing, in his life of Schuyler, and Mr. Leake, in his life of John Lamb, state the sum voted to have been 1500£. The Journal of the assembly, however, printed by Hugh Gaine, reads 1800£.

² Manuscript letter; Rev. Samuel Kirkland to Johnson, 25th May, 1769.

³ Manuscript letter; Capt. Norman McLeod — commissary at Niagara — to Johnson, May, 1769.

CHAP. rendered it very probable that they had finally succeeded.

XVII. Under these circumstances Sir William, always vigilant,
1769. and well aware that if the reports from the west were true, no exertions would be spared to draw the Six Nations into the war, resolved upon a tour throughout the Confederacy with a view of ascertaining its present temper and disposition. Accordingly he set out from the Hall on the twenty-sixth of June, proceeding first to Onondaga castle and returning by way of Seneca. His tour of inspection confirmed his suspicions. Many of the younger warriors, of the upper castles, were already much excited by numerous belts which had recently been received from the west; while nearly all the old sachems were alarmed at the late order of the board of trade, which, with a short-sighted policy, required the superintendent to dismiss the commissioners of trade at the several posts, with a view to diminish the expenses of the Indian department.

At Onondaga, which he reached on the tenth of July, he met with an accident, that, at his time of life, was not slight. Returning one evening across the lake from a preliminary conference with a few of the principal chiefs, the canoe which he was paddling upset. With great difficulty he reached the shore, and while clambering up a steep bank, he received a severe cut in his wounded leg. His sufferings were at first intense, but finding himself easier, a general council was held two days after, at which he distributed large quantities of Indian corn to the Onondagas, their crops having failed. Thence he journeyed to Cayuga, and having held another meeting at that castle, he proceeded to Seneca, where two thousand Indians were awaiting him. While at this place belts arrived, announcing the approach of several Cherokee chieftains, who were on their way to a general congress, soon to be held at Onondaga, for the purpose of cementing alliances with the Canada Indians and other friendly tribes. The Baronet, thereupon, arranged for a full report of its proceedings; and having completely neutralized the poison of the

western belts, he returned home by easy stages, reaching the Hall the seventh of August. His injury, however, proved more serious than was at first supposed. He was obliged to consult a physician from New York city; and it was not until the fourth of October, that he was sufficiently recovered to leave his room.¹

A few days after his return, Sir William received intelligence that the king had conferred upon him, as a peculiar mark of his appreciation of his services, a large tract of land, situated on the north side of the Mohawk, and known in later times as the ROYAL GRANT. The origin of it was as follows:

In the fall of 1760, the Mohawks of Canajoharie, through one of their chiefs, desired the attendance of Sir William at their castle upon business of importance. The latter immediately complied with their request, and upon his arrival at the Lower Castle, the Mohawks in full council informed him, that they had a few days previously unanimously resolved, as a mark of esteem and affection, to make him a present of a large tract of land; at the same time desiring him to have a deed of gift drawn for that purpose. The Baronet, to whom this generosity was an entire surprise, thanked them for the friendly feeling thus shown, and requested time to consider it. Determined, however, that he should accept the gift, five sachems, deputed by the castle, waited upon him a few days afterward and insisted upon having the deed drawn. This having been done, they returned with the deed to Canajoharie, where it was signed by all of that castle, old and young;—the Baronet insisting upon giving them, as a substantial mark of his appreciation of their kindness, the sum of twelve thousand dollars, besides numerous presents. The tract, thus conveyed, embraced all the land lying on the north side of the Mo-

¹ Johnson to the minister, 26th August, 1769; Manuscript correspondence of Johnson during August and October, 1769.

CHAP. hawk, between Cayahara and Canada creeks, and contained
 XVII. } sixty-six thousand acres of land.¹

1769. Soon after receiving this present, Sir William wrote to Lieutenant Governor Colden requesting a patent for the land in the usual form. Upon his letter being referred to the council, they were of opinion that so large a tract could not be granted to one person without infringing on his Majesty's proclamation of 1763.² The revolt of the western nations occurring shortly after, the matter rested until the summer of 1766, when Sir William laid before the king, in council, a memorial setting forth the facts of the case, and praying that royal letters patent might issue to him for the land. The memorial was, thereupon, referred to the board of trade, who in February, 1767, reported favorably upon it. "The established character and reputation of Sir William Johnson," the report went on to say, "leaves us no room to doubt of the veracity of his relation of this matter; and in this light it does not appear to us, that the grant in question can properly come under the description of a purchase; since the money which the petitioner alledges that he paid to the Indians, who bestowed these lands upon him, seems not so much to have been considered as an equivalent by way of bargain, as a customary present, regularly expected by them in acknowledgment, even of their most disinterested benefactions. * * * We think, therefore, that this considera-

¹ "The rear line of this tract is to begin at the northeasterly corner of the rear line of a parcel of land, surveyed last fall by McGinn, and runs thence a westerly course to the Canada kill or creek at Burnett's field, which will make it about thirteen miles distant to the Mohawk river." Manuscript letter; Johnson to Banyar, 6th January, 1761. These two creeks are now known as the East and West Canada creeks.

² This proclamation strictly forbids "any private persons to presume to make any purchase from the Indians of any lands reserved to the said Indians, within those parts of the colonies where his majesty has thought proper to allow settlements;" alleging as the ground for this prohibition, "that great frauds and abuses had been committed in the purchasing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of the interests of the crown, and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians."

tion not only exempts his particular case from those general objections, that are founded in the apprehension of prejudicial consequences resulting from the dissatisfaction of the Indians, but leaves a doubt with us whether, on the contrary, they would not probably consider themselves as suffering an indignity and affront, by a disallowance and refusal of their grant." This report was satisfactory; and the king granted the land to Sir William Johnson by royal letters patent, which passed the Royal Seal in June of the present year.¹

The death of Sir Henry Moore, on the eleventh of September, threw a gloom over the entire city. His polished

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to Banyar, 6th January, 1761; do Johnson to John Pownal, 18th April, 1763; do, Johnson to ———, 13th Sept., 1769; do, Johnson to Hon. Thos. Penn, 15th September, 1769; Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the lords of trade, 13th May, 1765. "Report of the lords of trade on the memorial of Sir William Johnson."

Within the Royal Grant were several patents taken up several years before the action of the Canajoharie Mohawks, but against the legality of which, the latter always protested.—*Manuscript letter; Johnson to Banyar, 6th Jan., 1769.* The owners of these patents (thirty-nine in all) were consequently joined in the royal letters patent; but afterward released their interest to Sir William for due consideration. The author had among his *manuscripts* several original affidavits, sworn to by parties who were present at the release, testifying to this transaction. Unfortunately, however, before this work went to press, he found that these affidavits had been lost, so that he is unable to refer the reader to them more particularly than by this statement. The date of these affidavits, if his recollection serves him, was several years after Sir William's decease.

It may be well to state in this connection, that, with the exception of the royal grant, the only lands that Sir William ever had of the Indians were a small tract on the Susquehannah, and the Onondaga lands, for both of which he paid a large sum of money,—the rest of his estate having been purchased of the whites. This statement is proved by numerous letters of his in which it is asserted. *The romantic story of his dreaming away from King Hendrik the Royal Grant*—which even Mr. Schoolcraft, in his Notes on the Iroquois, gravely narrates as a fact—is false. *Hendrik had been in his grave five years* before this tract was given. Indeed, the uprightness of Sir William's dealings with the Indians, which was the *chief cause* of his ascendancy over them, sufficiently proves its falsity, even if we had not the above positive testimony. It is quite time that the numerous silly stories, afloat in regard to Sir William Johnson, and resting solely on tradition, should be done away with.

CHAP. manners, courteous address, and genial disposition, had
 XVII. endeared him to many in the colony. Although forced,
 1769. oftentimes, as the representative of the crown, to come in collision with the popular sentiment, yet such occasions were evidently so distasteful to him, that many, who were his bitter political enemies, regarded him with cordial good will. By his death the reins of government fell for the third time into the hands of Doctor Colden, who, as lieutenant governor, opened the fall session of the assembly on the twenty-second of November.

Appearances seemed to indicate a stormy session. Massachusetts had just passed a series of spirited resolutions against the military and naval force stationed at her capital. The assembly of Virginia, late in the spring, had been dissolved by the new governor, Lord Botetourt, for its presumption in sending Massachusetts words of encouragement and support. The refusal, moreover, of the house of commons, in March, to receive the representative of the New York assembly, had excited the apprehensions of those of the colonists who had hitherto been warmly attached to the crown. "*I must confess,*" wrote Sir William Johnson, in September, "*that the aspect of affairs at home is very unpleasing, and ought to give concern to every well wisher of his country, because whatever reason or justice there may be in the late steps, there is a probability of their being carried further than a good man can wish for.*"¹

Yet there were those also in the house of commons, who had more than glimmerings of the result. "Be assured, sir," said Alderman Thecotherick, in April, in seconding the motion of Thomas Pownall for a repeal of the revenue act, "that every measure of security resorted to by Great Britain against her colonies will recoil upon ourselves. The hearts of its subjects are the surest hold that any government can have on their fidelity and obedience." "Nobody," petulantly exclaimed Lord North, "is more

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to Rivington, 14th Sept., 1769.

concerned than I am at the existing differences between America and the mother country; but this is neither a measure of credit nor of reconciliation; if you lose your credit with the colonies, you never can be reconciled with them; and he argued that he saw nothing uncommercial, in making the Americans pay a tax upon tea. "If the noble lord," replied Alderman Beckford, "imagines that Americans will come to us upon their knees, he will be disappointed. I believe they never will submit to internal taxes. Whether combinations against the mother country are legal or illegal, is a matter I will not go into; but the head of a family may surely say: "You shall not wear British manufactures." Said Mr. Jackson, "I consider the preservation of America to depend upon the repeal of this act." "We are lighting up," urged Lord Beauchamp, "a general flame in America. We shall lose the affections of two millions of people for the sake of a paltry extorted revenue. Trade is the offspring of good will." "We ought to govern America," added in the same strain Lord John Cavendish, "through the affections of the people."¹ But these prophetic warnings were unheeded. The motion was at that time lost, Lord North postponing farther discussion upon it by a stroke of parliamentary tactics. Something, however, all agreed must be done to conciliate the colonies; and accordingly, in May, the minister, in a circular letter, assured the colonists that a proposition would be made at the next session of parliament to repeal the duties on all articles except tea. This announcement was not satisfactory. It was evident that the *right* of taxation was not relinquished.

Contrary, however, to general expectation, during the fall and winter session, there were no collisions between the executive and the legislature, although the spirited resolutions of Virginia, of the preceding May, were unanimously concurred in. On the first day of the session a bill was

¹ Sir Henry Cavendish's debates in the house of commons, from 1768-1774.

CHAP. introduced for emitting one hundred and twenty thousand
XVII. pounds in bills of credit, to be put out on loan, as a means
1769. of revenue. The bill was at first hailed with delight by the leaders of the popular party, who thought they discerned in it a desire, on the part of the executive, to gratify the wish of the people. When, however, it was followed, on the fifteenth of December, by a motion to grant two thousand pounds for the support of his majesty's troops in the colony, which sum was to be taken out of the interest arising from the loan bill when it should become a law, a complete revulsion of feeling took place; and they now saw only an attempt, on the part of the lieutenant governor, to compel the assembly into an unconditional submission of the mutiny act. Accordingly, the first sight that greeted the citizens, on the morning of the seventeenth, was a flaming placard, posted up in the most conspicuous portions of the city, addressed, "TO THE BETRAYED INHABITANTS OF THE CITY AND COLONY OF NEW YORK," and signed "A SON OF LIBERTY." This placard declared, that the granting of money to the troops was implicitly acknowledging the authority that had enacted the revenue acts, which had been passed for the express purpose of taking money out of the pockets of the colonists, without their consent; that what made the granting of money the more grievous was, that it went to the support of troops kept, not to protect, but to enslave them; that this was the view taken of the mutiny act by the assemblies of Massachusetts and South Carolina,—therefore let not the assembly of New York tell their disgrace in Boston, nor publish it in the streets of Charleston! The assembly, moreover, had not been attentive to the liberties of this continent, nor to the prosperity of the good people of this colony. This sacrifice of the public interest, it attributed to a corrupt source, which, it scrupled not to affirm in plain words, was an infamous coalition, recently entered into between the executive and the De Lancey family, for this very object. In conclusion, the placard advised all

the people to assemble the following day in the fields, there to express their sentiments upon a point so vital to colonial liberty. CHAP.
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The large concourse of people, gathered in the fields at the time appointed, clearly showed how in unison with the public feeling were the sentiments uttered in the placard of the previous day. The object of the gathering was set forth by John Lamb, one of the most prominent of the Sons of Liberty, and the question asked, whether the citizens would uphold the recent action of the assembly. The emphatic no that at once arose from the vast throng was a sufficient answer to this question; and a committee of seven was immediately appointed to carry this public expression of feeling to the legislature. But however much that body may have regretted their partial committal to the loan bill, they did not choose to be dictated to by a meeting which they considered little better than a mob. Accordingly, the consideration of the placard having been made the first order of the following day, James DeLancey moved that "the sense of the house should be taken whether the said paper was not an infamous and scandalous libel." The question being put, all the members voted in the affirmative except Colonel Schuyler, who when his name was called, with admirable moral courage, fearlessly answered in the negative. A series of resolutions was then passed condemning the paper as false, seditious, and infamous, and requesting the lieutenant governor to offer a reward of one hundred pounds for its author or authors. Immediately after the passage of these resolutions, Mr. DeLancey laid before the house another handbill, in which the late proceedings of that body were strongly condemned, signed LEGION. Resolves were at once passed, similar in tone to those just noticed, and an additional reward of fifty pounds offered for the writer of this also.

Nothing worthy of special mention occurred during the remainder of this session. John Lamb, it is true,

CHAP. XVII.
1770. three days after the passage of the resolutions, was arraigned before the house on suspicion of being the author of the libellous handbill; but nothing being proved against him he was immediately discharged. The general assembly having now been convened more than two months, and its members being now anxious to return to their homes, Lieutenant Governor Colden signed several acts, among them one for appointing commissioners to meet commissioners from the neighboring Colonies to agree upon a plan for regulating the Indian trade, and on the twenty-seventh of January, prorogued it to the second Tuesday in March, and from time to time afterward to the eleventh of December.

Meanwhile, the hatred between the soldiers and the Sons of Liberty daily gained strength. The former had long writhed under the undisguised disgust with which they were treated by the latter, and only waited for an opportunity to repay this scorn with interest. Hitherto, they had been restrained through motives of policy, and now that the supplies were granted, they threw off all restraint, and resolved to insult their enemies in their most tender spot. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of January, a portion of the Sixteenth Regiment attempted to destroy the liberty-pole by sawing off its spars and blowing it up with gunpowder. A knot of citizens having gathered round while they were thus engaged, they desisted for the present from the attempt, and charging upon the group with fixed bayonets, drove them into a tavern, kept by Montaguie, and a favorite resort of the Sons of Liberty, broke the windows, and demolished a portion of the furniture. Three days afterward, however, they succeeded in their design, and having, on the night of the sixteenth, cut the obnoxious symbol in pieces, piled its fragments in front of Montaguie's door. Incensed at this daring insult, three thousand citizens assembled early the following morning at the scene of the outrage, and adopted, among others, a resolution that all soldiers found

in the street after roll call, "should be treated as enemies to peace of the city;" mutually pledging themselves to see that this resolve was vigorously enforced. Early the next morning insulting placards were found posted up in various parts of the city, ridiculing the resolutions of the previous day, and daring the citizens to carry them into execution. In the course of the day three soldiers were discovered by Sears and others in the act of posting up more of these handbills; and a skirmish ensuing, the citizens, having obtained the upper hand, were conducting the offenders to the office of the mayor, when they were met by a band of twenty additional troops. A general fight with cutlasses and clubs now followed, the military slowly retreating to Golden hill.¹ At this point they were met by a party of officers, who immediately ordered their men to the barracks, and the riot was quelled. In this brush, several citizens were wounded and one killed, although the soldiers were generally worsted. The following day witnessed a number of frays, none of which, however, were attended with loss of life; and on the twentieth, the mayor having issued a proclamation forbidding the soldiers to come out of the barracks unless accompanied by a non-commissioned officer, the excitement was quieted and order once more restored.² On the fifth of February another pole was erected, inscribed "Liberty and Property," on ground purchased for the purpose,

¹ John street between Cliff street and Burling slip.

² "We are all in confusion in this city; the soldiers have cut and blowed up the liberty pole, and have caused much trouble between the inhabitants. On Friday last between Burling Slip and Fly Market, was an engagement between the inhabitants and the soldiers, when much blood was spilt; one sailor got run through the body, who since died; one man got his skull cut in the most cruel manner. On Saturday the Hall bell rang for an alarm, when was another battle between the inhabitants and soldiers: but the soldiers met with rubbers, the chiefest part being sailors with clubs to revenge the death of their brother, which they did with courage, and made them all run to their barracks. What will be the end of this, God knows." —*Letter from "New York, Jan. 22, 1770," in the St. James Chronicle, or British Evening Post, March 15th, 1770.*

CHAP. XVII. where it remained until cut down in 1776, by the British
 } soldiery, at that time occupying the city.

1770. The Sons of Liberty were undaunted. In February, one hundred of them purchased of Colonel Morris a house for six hundred pounds—each of them contributing six pounds—in which to celebrate the repeal of the stamp act;¹ and having, on the nineteenth of March, drank forty-five popular toasts, they proceeded to the jail where Captain McDougal was confined for being the author of the libellous handbill of the previous December; saluted him with forty-five cheers, and quietly dispersed.

In Boston the feeling between the citizens and soldiery was even more embittered. The news of the recent occurrences in New York was not calculated to sooth this mutual animosity; and when, on the second of March, an affray took place at Gray's rope walk, between a citizen and a soldier, in which the latter was worsted, it required but a small degree of forecast to anticipate an approaching explosion. Three days afterward, on the evening of the fifth, a sentinel who had wantonly abused a lad was surrounded in King street by a mob of boys, and pelted with snow-balls made of the light snow that had just fallen. "They are killing the sentinel," shouted a bystander to the main guard. Instantly a file of six soldiers, headed by a corporal and followed by Preston, the officer of the day, rushed to the rescue at a double quick step with fixed bayonets. A crowd gathered round, and the musket of a soldier being hit by a stick thrown from the throng, Preston gave the order to fire.² Montgomery, the man whose musket had been hit, immediately fired, and Attucks, a mulatto, who had been quietly looking on, fell dead on the spot. Six others, thereupon, taking deliberate aim, fired in succession at the crowd, who were already beginning to disperse. Three of the citizens, including the mulatto, were instantly killed, and of eight others who

¹ Manuscript letter; Norman McLeod to Johnson, 19th February, 1770.

² Compare Bancroft, vol. vi, p. 347, Note.

were wounded, two died shortly afterward from their injuries.

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It has been usually asserted by historians, that the first blood in the war of the American revolution was shed at Lexington; but such is not the fact. THE BATTLE OF GOLDEN HILL, on the eighteenth of January, 1770, was the beginning of that contest, so fearful in its commencement, so doubtful in its progress, and so splendid in its results. The storm had now been gathering for several years, and the public mind had become exceedingly feverish, not only in respect to the conduct of the parent government, but in respect to the language and bearing of the officers of the crown stationed in the colonies. The destruction of the liberty pole increased the mutual exasperation; and the fight that followed was but the natural consequence. To the city of New York, therefore, must ever be given the honor of *striking the first blow*. The town was thrown into commotion, the bells rang, and the news, with the exaggerations and embellishments incident to all occasions of alarm, spread through the country with the rapidity of lightning. Everywhere, throughout the wide extent of the old thirteen colonies, it created a strong sensation, and was received with a degree of indignant emotion, which very clearly foretold that blood had only commenced flowing. The massacre in King street, two months later, added intensity to the flame; and although five years intervened before the demonstration at Lexington, there were too many nervous pens and eloquent tongues in exercise to allow these feelings to subside, or the noble spirit of liberty that had been awakened to be quenched. "Such stirring orations as those of Joseph Warren were not uttered in vain; and often were the people reminded by him, or by his compatriots of kindred spirit — 'The voice of your brethren's blood cries to you from the ground.' The admonition had its effect, and the resolutions of vengeance sank deeper and deeper, until the fulness of time should come."

CHAP. XVII. Late in January, the Cherokees spoke, with calumets
 1770. and belts of wampum, to the warriors of the Six Nations. The peace pipes strengthened the recent alliance, and the wampum invited the latter to join in a crusade against the south-western tribes. On the reception of the invitation, fresh fuel was thrown upon the council fire, at Onondaga, that it might burn clearer and brighter; and after a lengthy deliberation, the Confederacy declined giving a definite reply until they had taken the advice of their brother Warraghiyagey. Accordingly, a message was sent to the latter, requesting that he would hold a general congress with the Confederacy and give them the benefit of his counsel. In support of their request, the Cherokee deputies, who had accompanied the embassay from Onondaga, urged that the English were as much interested as themselves in taking up the hatchet, instancing the case of Colonel Croghan, who had been attacked at the mouth of the Wabash in 1764, and also the numerous traders murdered on the Ohio.

The position in which Sir William was placed in replying to this request, was exceedingly embarrassing. Should he give a decided refusal, he feared that the Cherokees — who were bent on war and to whom it mattered not whom they fought — divested from their original design, might turn their arms against the English. On the other hand, should he sanction it, he dreaded, for the sake of humanity, the bloody wars which would follow. “It is a disagreeable circumstance,” he wrote to the minister, “that we must either agree to permit these people to cut each others’ throats, or risk their discharging their fury on our traders and defenceless frontiers.” Of these two alternatives, however, policy dictated the security of the frontiers as an object of the first consideration. Accordingly, he appointed a congress to be held in July at the German Flats, hoping that he might prevail upon the Cherokees to relinquish the idea of war altogether.

But now a serious difficulty arose. In preparing for the

approaching congress, no Indian goods, suitable for presents, were to be found. The vigor with which the Sons of Liberty had carried out the non-importation agreement, had produced a scarcity of goods of every kind in the market; and a large package of goods, designed expressly for Indian presents, and consigned to a merchant in Albany, had been seized in New York on its way to the consignee. Under these circumstances, Sir William addressed the following letter to the chairman of the non-importation committee:

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“JOHNSON HALL, March 22d, 1770.

“Sir,

“As I am very soon to hold a general congress with the Indians, on matters of much consequence to the public, I have made inquiry in order to procure a proper assortment of goods for that occasion. In consequence of which, I can meet with none that will answer the purpose excepting a cargo consigned to Dr. Sam. Stringer, of Albany, and marked S. S. From the invoice of which, and the invoice he has given me, they will answer, but I am informed that they were stored by a resolution of the Sons of Liberty, of whom you were chairman. The occasion of my writing, therefore, is to know whether the goods will be delivered up to my order for the purpose before mentioned, in case I purchase them. If they are, I shall agree for them without delay; and as the service requires my holding the congress forthwith, which I cannot do without a suitable present, as usual on such occasions, I make no doubt that you will favor me with an answer as soon as possible.

“I am, Sir, &c.,

WM. JOHNSON.

“To Mr. Isaac Low.”¹

This application was successful, and the goods were forwarded in ample time for the congress. Had the congress, however, been held a month later, no difficulty would have

¹ Manuscript letter.

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 1770. } been experienced; for the duties on all goods except tea having been removed by parliament, in April, the Committee of One Hundred, on the ninth of July, resolved upon the resumption of importation of every thing but tea, and sent forth a circular letter to that effect.

A portion of the early summer was spent by the Baronet at his favorite resort on the banks of the Sacandaga; and on the fifteenth of July, he set out from the Hall for the German Flats, taking him with large quantities of provisions for the Indians, whose crops had been recently destroyed by an army of caterpillars that had swept through the land with devastating fury. He was accompanied by Doctor Shuckburgh,¹ his private secretary for Indian affairs, and also by a deputation from the Canada tribes, who had stopped at the Hall on their way to the congress.

Arrived at the German Flats, he found twenty-four hundred Indians, including the Cherokee deputies, already assembled. The task of preventing the Six Nations from being drawn into a war, on the one hand, and of divesting the Cherokees of their belligerent feelings on the other, was not so difficult as he had anticipated. Many of the former, owing to the destruction of their crops, were half famished, and the sight of the provisions brought by the Baronet, wrought a wonderful change in their temper. At several private conferences, moreover, he had talked long

¹ "Richard Shuckburgh, who, if he did not compose, at least introduced the popular and well known air of *Yankee Doodle* into this country, was of German origin, and received a commission as surgeon of Capt. Horatio Gates' Independent Company of New York, on the twenty-fifth June, 1787. Whilst encamped at Greenbush, in the neighborhood of Albany, during the French war, to please, it is said, some eastern levies, he composed a tune and recommended it to the officers as one of the most celebrated airs of martial music. The air took, and in a few days nothing was heard in the Provincial camp but *Yankee Doodle*. Little did the doctor imagine the renown which awaited the air which he had recommended in a joke." *Farmer and Morris, New Hampshire Collections*, iii, 217.—*Note to N. Y. Col. His. by the Editor, Doctor O'Callaghan.*

and earnestly with the chief men of both the Cherokees and the Confederates, so that in the public council, both nations agreed to give up all thoughts of war against the Choctaws, at least, until they had had time to propose to the latter terms of accommodation; and this matter, which had at first appeared fraught with consequences inimical to the peace of the colonies, was amicably arranged. The treaty of Fort Stanwix was next taken up, and its several articles, in all their length and breadth, duly ratified in the name of his majesty.

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The effect of the non-importation acts had been productive of much anxiety among the Six Nations, who, not comprehending the policy in which these acts were dictated, only saw in the great scarcity of goods at the trading posts during the past year, a desire on the part of the king and colonists to restrict in future their trade. "At the treaty of Fort Stanwix," said the Mohawk, Abraham, at this congress, to Sir William, "you told us that we should pass our time in peace, and travel in security, that trade should flourish and goods abound, and that they should be sold us cheap. This would have endeared all the English to us — but we do not see it.¹ It is now worse than it was before, for we cannot get goods at all at present, and we hear, from all traders, that none will bring in any and that you have none for yourselves."²

Interfering with their trade—as those of my readers who have carefully followed this history must have observed—was touching the Indians in a sensitive spot. Fortunately, however, for the continuance of amicable relations, the importation of all goods except tea, was now resumed; and in answer to the Sachem's speech, the Baronet was able to assure him that goods would in future be very plenty, as many merchants had recently

¹ It seems that this popular phrase originated with Abraham.

² Some of the traders had stated to the Indians — with what object is not clear — that the reason they had no goods to sell was because the Colonists wished to hinder the Indian trade.

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1770. sent for large cargoes, which might very soon be expected in New York. This reply was entirely satisfactory. The Cherokee ambassadors returned to their own country; and the Confederates, loaded with provisions for their families, departed to their castles.¹

On the eighteenth of October,¹ John Earl of Dunmore, arrived in New York to occupy the gubernatorial chair, left vacant by the lamented Sir Henry Moore. The new governor is described, in a letter to Sir William, as "a very active man, fond of walking and riding, and a sportsman." This description affords a clue to the character of the man — easy in his disposition, and one who preferred the delights of the chase to controversies with his legislature. There was little likelihood, however, of his being troubled with a body that had, of late, grown very subservient. The news, moreover, which he brought with him, of his majesty's consent to the bill authorizing the emission of a colonial paper currency, increased the spirit of loyalty; and when, in his opening speech, on the eleventh of December, he expressed his pleasure that the example of the loyal subjects of the province had been the means of restoring friendly feelings and confidence between the parent country and the colonists, the address of the assembly, in reply, was a simple echo. During the entire session, therefore, the wheels of government rolled smoothly; and at its close, on the sixteenth of February, 1771, the loan bill was passed, as was also the one for appropriating two thousand pounds for the support of the troops. The crown had seemingly triumphed, but the end was not yet.

Toward the close of the year, speculation in all kinds

¹ Johnson to the minister, 12th July, 1770; Johnson to the minister, 14th Aug., 1770; Proceedings of Sir William with the Indians near the German Flats in July, 1770.

¹ Lord Dunmore to Hillsborough, 24th Oct., 1770. Several writers have stated that he arrived on the 24th Oct. The date, to be sure, is not of much consequence, but if it is stated at all, it might as well be stated correctly.

of adventures became rife, and among others, a company was formed, and a grant obtained from the king, for exploring the copper mines of Lake Superior. During the fall, Sir William was overwhelmed with letters from different individuals in the company, asking advice as to the best method of conciliating the Indians in the vicinity of the mines. He was also urgently solicited to take a share in the company, the first dividend of which was to make the fortune of each member. Sir William, however, had no inclination to be caught by these golden offers. "Being now advanced pretty far in life," he wrote in reply to the president of the company, "and my constitution greatly impaired through the fatigues and hardships I have experienced in the service of the crown and the public; and having a very troublesome office to discharge, it is not in my power to find sufficient leisure from the duties thereof to attend to my present domestic concerns, as I ought to do, much less to embark in any additional engagements, however inviting."¹

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to Samuel Fouchet, 15th Sept., 1770.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1771-1772.

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1771.

Sir William Johnson's "new settlement" had now become a flourishing village. During the past year, it had been increased by eighty families, and had received the name of Johnstown, in honor of its founder. In the spring, several new streets were laid out; and numerous gaily painted signs, swinging from over the doors of tradesmen who had recently moved in, gave it quite a business like air. Its wants were constantly provided for by the Baronet. The inhabitants were supplied with lumber from his saw-mills, and with pearl-ashes from a manufactory built on his estate for their special benefit. Nor, while attending to their temporal wants, did he neglect their spiritual and educational interests. In March, he began the erection of the stone church which stood in the village until 1836, when it was destroyed by fire;¹ and in the same month, he

¹ Rev. Richard Moseley was the first pastor settled over this church. He commenced his labors in the summer of this year, but was compelled by ill health to resign in the spring of 1774. The character of the relations which existed between the Baronet and his pastor will appear from the following manuscript letter written to the former, shortly after the latter's departure.

"NEW YORK, April 11th, 1774.

"Sir William :

I am at a loss to express my gratitude to you for your unbounded goodness to me during my residence at Johnstown, and particularly at my departure. I shall always retain a most grateful sense of your generosity; and that it may please God long to prolong your life, and possess you with a good state of health, will be the constant prayer and wishes of one, who has the honor of subscribing himself,

SIR WILLIAM,

"Your much Obliged

"and very Humble Serv't

"R. MOSELEY."

advertized in the New York and Philadelphia newspapers for a teacher, who was "proficient in reading, writing, and arithmetic," to take charge of a free school which he proposed establishing for the benefit of the village children. While the Baronet was thus advancing the interests of his little colony, in which he justly took great pride, he was no less active in the adornment and cultivation of his own immediate estate. Among my collection of manuscripts, I find a letter, written to a friend in Connecticut, in which he requests him to purchase and send him a large quantity of a superior quality of oats, which, it seems, were only raised in Saybrook. "I have sent you in a small box," writes another of his correspondents from Philadelphia, "a collection of scions for grafting which are cut in good season, and if you have proper stocks, I doubt not they will succeed;" and at the same time that the box arrived, he also received several bundles of choice fruit trees from another friend in New London.

Indeed the valley of the Mohawk—the fertility of which had been discovered by Sir William at so early a day—had assumed, in the immediate vicinity of his residence, the appearance of a rich farming country. The indefatigable zeal with which he had labored for so many years to develop the resources of the valley, and to instill into the minds of his Indian and white neighbors a love of agricultural pursuits, was beginning to bear fruit. Many of the Mohawks had become good farmers; the whites took special pride in raising good crops and choice stock; and rich farms, and beautiful meadows had succeeded the wilderness of forest that had first greeted the eyes of the young Irishman upon taking charge of his uncle's estate. Nor was his interest in the inhabitants of the Mohawk valley confined merely to his immediate neighborhood. The settlements of Fort Hunter, Canajoharie, Burnet's Fields, and even the older one of Schenectady, came within the immediate circle of his personal influence. Especially was he indefatigable in procuring spiritual food for their

CHAP. inhabitants. He was in constant correspondence with the
 XVIII. friends and patrons of the "Venerable Society for propa-
 1771. gating the gospel in foreign parts;" and in August, he received the formal thanks of that body for his successful efforts in furthering its plans. The spiritual and temporal condition of the Mohawk valley at this time, as well as the direct supervision exercised by him over it, will, perhaps, be best illustrated by the following extract from a letter written by Sir William, under date of February twenty-eighth, to the Rev. Mr. Burton of London:

"I am unable to make a suitable return for the warm wishes you express for me, but I feel them very sensibly, and you have every thing in answer that the strongest friendship can dictate, and I cannot but greatly regret your distance and the peculiarity of your situation, which deprives me of the opportunity of a more friendly intercourse,—often wishing that you could partake in the pleasing prospects which this country now affords from the advancement of religion and the improvements in agriculture. Mr. Stuart has been for sometime at his mission (Fort Hunter) where he is much esteemed, not only by the Indians, but by the Dutch inhabitants, who constantly resort to his church; his situation enables me to see him often, and I have great hopes from his appointment. Mr. Hall has an allowance from the society, and is to reside at Canajoharie until he is of age to take orders. Mr. Andrews, who has brought over a wife, is long since at Schenectady. He is sensible, and will, I believe, be of great use there, being connected with a principal inhabitant of that place. His congregation is as yet small, but zealous, and likely to increase. The only mission in this quarter, as yet unsupplied, is mine at Johnstown; the church at which being small and very ill built. I am preparing stone and materials for erecting one much stronger and larger, that will accomodate near one thousand souls."¹

Nor while thus engaged in aiding episcopal missions,

¹ Manuscript letter.

was he, as before observed, in the least sectarian. Rev. ^{CHAP. XVIII.} Samuel Kirkland — a dissenter, now settled near Fort Stanwix, — received his cordial sympathy and support; ^{1771.} and in many letters from the Baronet, was bidden God-speed in his noble work.¹

¹ In connection with Sir William Johnson's efforts to christianize the Indians, the attention of the reader is specially directed to the following letter from the Tuscaroras of Cherry Valley, to Sir William, and the latter's reply — both of which I find among my manuscripts.

“CHERRY VALLEY 27th June, 1774.

“ Brother :

“ We beg leave to address you, though, by our conduct, we have made ourselves unworthy of your notice, living in the neglect of religion, and in those practices that are entirely contrary thereto. But God in his mercy has opened our eyes to see, in some measure, the necessity as well as the pleasures of a religious life; but we are destitute of those things which are necessary in order to make progress in religion. Therefore we lay our case before you, begging that you would consider us. Our brethren, the Oneidas, just by us have the word of God printed. We think it would be serviceable to us and greatly assist us in acquiring that knowledge which is so necessary for all. If you can help us in this case, we shall look upon it [as] a great favor. Some also have a desire to learn to write, but have not paper or ink. Perhaps our brother out of pity to us will help us with paper, ink, holders and powder. [sand ?] We only acquaint him with our circumstances and leave it before him; whatever he shall do, we will acquiesce in.

“ Please to accept our compliments and wishes for your health and prosperity :

“ From your Brethren Tuscaroras.

“ SETH

“ in the name of the rest.”

Sir William Johnson's reply.

“ Brethren of Onoghquaquy :

“ I have received your letter, and am well pleased to hear your pious resolutions, and the sense you have of the importance of a religious life. Indeed, I have long regarded you as a people who knew the value of Christianity. The chiefs at Onoghquaquy, having formerly been instructed by some worthy divines of the church of England, afterwards to my knowledge, took great pains with their people, teaching them to pray and to praise their Creator — to promote which I have given them many books, sufficient (I apprehend) for your purpose at present; and I wish you may continue to pay due regard to them. But I am very sorry to find that for some time past, there is not that cordial affection between you and the rest

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1771.

During the early summer, the Baronet was confined to the Hall by his general ill health. But although thus debarred from active employment, he was not idle. He took this opportunity to replenish his library with the new and standard works of the day; and also to write a series of letters to Arthur Lee of Virginia upon the manners, customs, and government of the Six Nations.¹ His supervision, moreover, of all the nations coming within his department, required his constant attention, and his correspondence with his deputies, was consequently unremitting. A diligent watch over the movements of the several tribes seemed at this time to be particularly necessary. The threatened rupture between England and Spain was well known to the western tribes, who, influenced by the Spanish traders along the Mississippi, waited in anxious suspense for the declaration of hostilities, to desolate the settlements with fire and tomahawk. Preparatory, however, to going upon the war-path, a large council of Indian tribes, had been held, late in the winter, on the plains of Scioto, the object of which, had been to promote a general alliance between the northern and southern nations, with a view of offensive operations against the English.² This council, it is true, had broken up, through want of unanimity, with no definite result; but enough of the leaven at

of your village that ought to subsist between brothers and fellow Christians, but that you appear to be separating yourselves from the Oneida chiefs who are the proper heads of your settlement, and whom I know to be good men.

“Let me advise you to consider this in its true light; to remember that the Oneidas, the proprietors of that country, gave you a settlement then out of kindness; that you lived happily with them whilst you regarded their civil and religious instructions; and that you ought still to continue to do so, in which case you may be assured of my countenance.

“I have sent you a little paper by this opportunity, which I hope you will make a good use of; and above all things that you will accord with your older brethren in the practise of piety and charity one to another; and I trust that you will profit by this wholesome advice from your friend and well wisher.

“W. J.”

¹ For one of these valuable and interesting letters, see appendix. No. VII.

² Johnson to the minister, 18th Feb., 1771.

work among the Indians, was then apparent, to excite lively apprehension. Jealous, moreover, of the influence exerted over the Six Nations by the superintendent, the Shawanese and Delawares strove continually to excite the distrust and suspicion of the latter against the Confederacy. The fidelity which these nations had shown to the English had been, as they well knew, the chief cause of the failure of Pontiac's rebellion; and aware that this attachment would form a great obstacle in the way of a successful future resistance, no efforts that malice and cunning could devise were spared to produce a rupture. Accordingly, it excited no surprise when, in May, a Shawanese Indian informed Croghan at Fort Pitt, of an attempt on the part of the Six Nations to incite his nation and the Delawares to a general revolt. This report was not credited, nevertheless the Baronet thought it expedient to summon the suspected chiefs at once to the Hall, "not so much," as he writes, "by reason of any suspicion of the Confederacy, as to show them that such designs, by whatever nation carried on, could not be totally concealed."

The congress, which was attended by the chiefs and their families to the number of three hundred and fifty, was opened in due form by the Baronet on the thirteenth of July. The Indians, upon being acquainted with the object of the meeting, warmly protested their innocence, and appeared exceedingly grieved that they should have been even suspected, as a Confederacy, of so foul a design. The story told at Fort Pitt by the Shawanese, said their speaker, had arisen from the conduct of Gaustarax, a former chief of Chenussio, who, when alive, "had privately and wickedly concerned himself in the name, but without the privacy, of the Six Nations." This man, he continued, had sent, during the late Indian war, a belt-hatchet with many bad speeches to the Shawanese and to all the people living that way, but had kept it very secret. By this belt he had acquainted all those nations, that he would remove the door of the Six Nations, which had formerly been at Chenussio,

CHAP. XVIII.
 1771. to the Scioto plains, and that he expected their assistance to enable him to fight his way there. This had not been discussed for a considerable time afterward, when his acts were at once disavowed by the entire Confederacy. "Having now," added the speaker in conclusion, "truly and fairly related to you all that we are acquainted with touching this disagreeable news, we declare that in case any such secret hatchet should be still among the Indians about the Ohio, we are ready and willing to use our utmost authority to take it away and bury it forever." This frank statement, related with all the bearing of conscious innocence, fully established in the mind of the Baronet, the falsity of the report. "Although," he wrote to General Gage, "there is some reason to doubt of the friendship of the Senecas on the Ohio, and at Chenussio, yet I had not, neither have I, any reason to suspect the rest of the Senecas, or any other of the Confederate nations. Indeed, I am now convinced that the name of the Six Nations is often made use of by the rest as a cloak for their own intrigues, and with a view to exasperate us against them so far as to force the Six Nations to join in their undertakings, and totally withdraw themselves from our interests."¹

On the nineteenth, the Indians were dismissed with the customary presents. The chiefs returned to their castles, well pleased at their having removed the suspicions under which they had rested; and Sir William set off on a visit to the High Rock spring, with the design of trying once more the efficacy of the water.

On the eighth of July, Sir William Tryon, Bart., having rendered himself odious to the people of North Carolina by his petty tyranny, arrived in New York bearing his majesty's commission as governor and commander-in-chief, in the place of Lord Dunmore, who was transferred to the government of Virginia.

1772. The general assembly, which had been prorogued

¹ Manuscript letter; Johnson to Gage, 9th Aug., 1771.

to the seventh day of August, 1771, was now farther pro-
 rogued from time to time to the seventh of January, when it
 again met; and on the eighth, the session was opened for
 business by a speech from the new governor, of a mild and
 conciliatory character. His arrival had been greeted by
 affectionate addresses of congratulation to which he refer-
 red with apparent warmth. His recent cruel conduct in
 North Carolina was then justified, as a meritorious effort
 to preserve the constitution and the laws; and in seeming
 mockery, his late wonderful achievement in that province—
 of dispersing with over one thousand armed troops, an
 unarmed and inoffensive crowd—was attributed to the
 special favor of a kind Providence. The necessity of
 passing a good militia bill was then pointed out; and the
 thorough repairing of the fortifications of the city, which
 had become greatly injured by the weather, was also recom-
 mended as worthy of immediate attention. “Influenced
 only,” he added with consummate flattery, “by principles
 that flow from an honest heart, I feel an ardent desire
 to coöperate with you in every measure that will best
 promote the honor and dignity of his majesty’s govern-
 ment, and advance the real felicity of a people eminently
 distinguished by their loyalty to the best of sovereigns,
 and affectionate disposition to their mother country.” The
 address sent in to the governor by the house, on the
 seventeenth, was conceived in the same spirit that dictated
 the opening speech. It accorded high praise to the brief
 administration of the Earl of Dunmore, for its equity,
 impartiality, and disinterestedness; and expressed strong
 confidence in the wisdom which was to mark that of his
 lordship’s immediate successor, as shown more particularly
 in his beneficent administration of his former government!

Indeed it seemed as if in this address, the last lingering
 embers of resistance to ministerial tyranny in the colony
 of New York, had expired. A few staunch patriots, such
 as Philip Schuyler, it is true, still remained in the assembly,
 but their voices were powerless to turn back the tide which

CHAP. now rolled in from the ocean of ministerial patronage.
 XVIII. William Tryon, a man fully as subservient as Hutchinson
 1772. without his ability, backed by the upper house, and rendered, moreover, independent of the colony by a recent order of the crown that his salary should hereafter be paid from the revenue chest, was well fitted for the purpose for which he had been transferred to the chair lately occupied by the mild, but passive and inefficient Dunmore. Indeed, if anything was wanting to show the subserviency of the present assembly, it was supplied by the utter indifference with which this attempt to render the executive independent of the people, was received. In former assemblies, such an announcement would have been met with an outburst of indignation before which no governor could have stood ; but now, a message from Tryon in February, refusing to receive a salary from the people, produced not a word of comment, and the removal of this strong bulwark of their liberties was quietly acquiesced in. Far different, however, was the action of the assemblies of Massachusetts and the other colonies, to whom the ministerial instruction in relation to salaries also extended. In the former body, especially, the recent act of parliament was boldly denounced ; other colonial legislatures did the same ; New York was silent. True men looked on in amazement ; and in anxious expectation strained their eyes for the first rays of the day-star of hope.

But while the representatives of the people were thus unmindful of their liberties, they were more attentive to the local interests of the colony. At the close of the present session many praiseworthy acts were passed ; and among them one for founding the present New York Hospital, and another for dividing Albany county into three counties, Albany, Tryon, and Charlotte.

The project of dividing the county of Albany was first broached in the house by Philip Schuyler in the spring of 1769. Owing, however, to the manner in which it was then proposed to make the division, the bill had met, as it

will be recollected, with a strong opposition from the western portion of the county, and the effort had at that time failed. In the spring of the present year the project was again reviewed: and on the second of January, Sir William Johnson forwarded to the assembly, through James De Lancey, a second petition from the inhabitants of the whole county, praying for a division, and naming such boundaries as would be agreeable to the petitioners. "The advantages of the division, to the landed people here," he wrote when forwarding the petition, "and the necessity there is for it from the vast extent of the old county and the increasing state of the inhabitants, are so well known, that the people are unanimous in their appeal." Accordingly on the fourteenth of January, Jacob H. Ten Eyck, the colleague of Schuyler as representative from Albany, brought in a bill entitled an act "to divide the county of Albany into two counties," which was then read the first time and ordered to a second reading. During its passage through the house, Philip Schuyler, who was now on good terms with Sir William, addressed him the following letter ;

Colonel Philip Schuyler to Sir Wm. Johnson.

"NEW YORK, January 18th, 1772.

"Sir :

"The bill for the partition of Albany is so far advanced that it is already under commitment, and I believe will soon pass. In which case, it will be absolutely necessary to have the new county divided into districts. I am so totally ignorant of what a proper division would be that I must entreat you to furnish me with the bounds of each. A clause in the bill empowers the justices of the new county together with the supervisors to raise a sum not exceeding one thousand pounds for the purpose of erecting a goal and court-house. Hence the necessity of sending down a list of the persons proper to be commissioned, which should be done as early as possible. Should you

CHAP. have any commands whilst here I shall most readily exe-
 XVIII.
 } cute them.
 1772.

“ I am,

“ Sir,

“ Your most Obed’t and

“ Humble Servant,

“ PH: SCHUYLER.

“ The Honorable Sir William Johnson, Baronet.”¹

To this letter an answer was immediately returned, in which the Baronet divided the proposed county into five districts — the Mohawk, Stone Arabia, Canajoharie, Kingsland, and German Flats — a division which was at once adopted.²

The bill at first seemed likely to pass without difficulty.

¹ Manuscript letter.

² The minutes which the Baronet sent to Schuyler to guide him in the formation of the districts are now before me in his own hand writing and are as follows :

“ The first, or Mohawk district, to be bounded easterly by the west bounds of the township of Schenectady, north, as far as the settlements shall extend, south, to the south bounds of the county, and west by a north and south line crossing the Mohawk river at Anthony’s nose.

“ The second, or Stone Arabia district, to be entirely on the north side of the river, bounded easterly by the west bounds of the late mentioned district, northerly as the former, and westerly by a north and south line to cross the Mohawk river at the Little Falls.

“ The third, or Canajoharie district, to be bounded north by the Mohawk river, south by the bounds of the county, east by the west bounds of the first mentioned district, and west by the aforesaid line to be continued south from the Little Falls.

“ The fourth, or Kingsland district, to be bounded southerly by the Mohawk river, easterly by a north line from the Little Falls, northerly and westerly as far as the settlements extend.

“ The fifth, or German Flats district, to be bounded northerly by the Mohawk river, easterly by the line to be continued south from the Little Falls, southerly as far as the county extends, and westerly by the boundary line settled with the Indians at the general treaty [Fort Stanwix] in 1768, — and for the collecting taxes &c., that the inhabitants of each district do yearly on the first Tuesday in April, elect, and appoint one freeholder to be a supervisor, two assessors and one collector, in every precinct or district in said county.”

“The county bill,” wrote Hugh Wallace to Johnson under date of February eighth, “is still in the Common’s House. I find there is no danger of its missing, for all the members that I have spoken to about it, seem pleased to have an opportunity to serve or oblige you.” “You will do well,” he also adds, “to write the governor for a roll of officers. There must be four judges, six assistant justices, or justices of quorum, ten or twelve justices of the peace, a clerk and a coroner.”¹ Yet it would appear that there was more opposition than was at first anticipated, as the same writer in a subsequent letter to Sir William, on the fourth of March, says. “I have the pleasure to advise you that your county bill is passed after great altercation and struggle.” In the same letter Wallace writes, “a new county is also made north of Saratoga. Your county is named Tryon and the other Charlotte—the governor and crown to appoint the places for the court houses. Yours will certainly be fixed at Johnstown. I hope you will send down to the governor the names of your county officers, and I am sure he will appoint whom you please.” Both of these conjectures proved to be correct. With but one exception—the clerk of the county—all the civil officers, recommended by Sir William, were appointed; and on the tenth of May, Governor Tryon fixed the county seat at Johnstown.³

All now was activity in the shire town. The erection of a jail and court-house was begun toward the end of May: new roads, leading in various directions from the

¹ Manuscript letter.

² Manuscript letter.

³ Manuscript letter; Hugh Wallace to Johnson, 10th May, 1772.

The first court of general quarter sessions for Tryon county was held in Johnstown on Tuesday the eighth of September, 1772. The bench was made up as follows:

“Guy Johnson, *Judge*; John Butler, Peter Conyne, *Judges*; Sir John Johnson, knight, Daniel Claus, John Wells, Jelles Fonda, *Assistant Judges*; John Collins, Joseph Chew, Adam Loucks, John Fry, Young, Peter Ten Broeck, *Justices*.

CHAP. XVIII.
 1772. village, were laid out ; and scores of settlers flocked in, and hastened to purchase lots and build dwellings. Sir William Johnson's time was consequently much occupied. An urgent invitation to visit New Brunswick, as one of the trustees of Queen's College,¹ was necessarily declined ; and when, on the fourteenth of July, Governor Tryon and his wife arrived at the Hall as his guests, they found him busily engaged in establishing the county courts and other civil offices.

The ostensible object of the governor's visit was to hold a council with the Mohawks of the Lower Castle in relation to their land grievances. His real one, however, was to acquire a knowledge of the upper portion of the province by making a tour through the Indian country, and effect some land purchases for private speculation. At the council with the Canajoharies, on the twenty eight of July, it appeared that the chief cause of complaint arose from the evil practices of their old enemy, George Klock, who, it seems, had refused to join William Livingston and the other patentees in executing a release of the Canajoharie land. The case was simply and touchingly stated to Governor Tryon by Joseph Brant, who assumed upon this occasion the office of speaker. Running over in his address the whole history of that fraudulent transaction, including the moonlight survey and the council held in 1763, he informed Tryon that Klock still persistently refused to execute the release, and that, too, in defiance of the express commands of the late Governor Moore in 1768. "Now brother," added Thayendanegea, "we rely on your justice for relief, and hope we may obtain it, so as to continue to live peacefully as we have hitherto done. We are sensible that we are at present but a small number, but nevertheless our connections are powerful, and our alliances many ; and should any of these perceive that we,

¹ Now Rutgers College. The charter was given by Governor Franklin on the 20th March, 1770. The name of Sir Wm. Johnson stands first on the list of trustees in the charter.

who have been so remarkable for our fidelity and attachment to you, are ill used and defrauded, it may alarm them, and be productive of dangerous consequences.”

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The reasons thus urged by the young Mohawk brave were cogent. The Indian trade, since the crown had placed its regulation in the hands of the colonies, had been badly managed. The convention of commissioners from the different colonies, for the purpose of regulating the trade—proposed in an act of the New York assembly in November 1769—had been vetoed by the ministry, who perceived in it a step toward union; and the consequent lack of system in this department was already beginning to produce serious dissatisfaction among the Six Nations. It was policy, therefore, to avoid any additional cause of irritation. All these considerations gave weight to the Mohawk's reasoning; and the importance of at least calming their minds was apparent. Accordingly, the governor, in his reply the following day, stated to the Mohawks, that his majesty's express commands to him were, that he should do them all possible justice, and support them against the frauds and oppression of those who were inclined to injure them. Upon investigating, moreover, the fraudulent transaction to which they had referred the previous day, he had found that the original patentees had no authority from government to run the survey and that it was consequently void. He should, therefore, at once order the surveyor general or one of his deputies to make a survey of the land on which they resided, preparatory to soliciting the king in their behalf.¹

Notwithstanding, however, these fair promises, Tryon, who appears to have been more interested in obtaining lands on speculation, than desirous of having justice done, proceeded no farther in the matter. George Klock, although not daring to avail himself of his fraud, continued his villainies, until he finally became so odious to the

¹ Original manuscript minutes of the council.

CHAP. XVIII. Indians, that fearing for his personal safety, he removed
 from Canajoharie.

1772. Before Governor Tryon returned home, he reviewed three regiments of militia; the first at Johnstown, the second at Burnet's Field, the third at the German Flats — amounting in all to fourteen hundred effective men. This he did at the special request of his entertainer, who was justly proud of the soldierly appearance of the men. Indeed, the Baronet, since his appointment as brigadier over the northern department, had been, as before observed, indefatigable in reorganizing and rendering efficient this arm of the military service. His command, which embraced all of the province north of the Highlands, had been divided by him into districts; and in commissioning the colonels of the different regiments, he had taken great pains to select those with whose fitness for the office he had acquainted himself, either by personal examination, or by diligent enquiry of persons who were competent to judge.¹ His services were fully appreciated by the governor, who shortly afterward forwarded to him a commission of major general of the northern department — an appointment which he held during the remainder of his life.

The governor tarried in the Indian country a few days longer, to complete the purchase of a large tract of land north of the Mohawk; and then returned to New York, having been absent on his tour of inspection five weeks. "It was with real satisfaction," he wrote to the minister the day after his return, "that I saw the credit and confidence in which Sir William was held by the Indian tribes. It is impossible for any man to have more uniform zeal and attention than he has in his department, so much so, that it would be no great impropriety to style him the *slave of the savages*."

¹ "It is my usual practice to inquire among the inhabitants concerning those officers, with whom it is impossible I should be acquainted." Manuscript letter; Johnson to Henry Van Schaick, 24th April, 1772.

Meanwhile, Benjamin Franklin had been vigorously pressing upon the ministry, both with pen and personal influence, his favorite plan of the Ohio settlement. The board of trade was again solicited to report in its favor; and Lord Hillsbrough, who still continued his opposition, reported against it in 1771. Franklin, however, having gained over several influential men, among whom were Gover, the president of the council, and Camden, bore down all barriers; and when, on the fourteenth of August, the royal assent to a grant of twenty-three millions of acres, north of the Ohio, was obtained, the minister, considering himself publicly insulted, resigned. Before, however, the grant could be made available, it was necessary that the tribes living on the Ohio should be prepared for its settlement. Accordingly, Lord Dartmouth, on his succeeding to the post of colonial secretary, informed Sir William Johnson, that it was his majesty's pleasure that the Six Nations and their allies should be at once apprised of the royal intentions respecting the land ceded by them at Fort Stanwix.¹

It so happened, that when the dispatches from the minister to the superintendent arrived, the latter was engaged in holding a council with the chiefs of the Confederacy. It was an auspicious moment in which to broach the subject. The Indians had come down to the Hall, to represent the growing laxity in the Indian trade, and complain of the continued frauds practised upon them by the traders. The Baronet, therefore, lost no time in acquainting them with the king's wish, and the advantages which they would derive from a fixed government, that could administer justice without delay between their people and the unprincipled frontiersmen. This way of presenting the case was a happy one. The chiefs, who saw in the arrangement a remedy for the very evil which had brought them to the Hall, readily acquiesced;² and at Sir William's

¹ Lord Dartmouth to Sir William Johnson, 2d Sept., 1772.

² Manuscript letter; Johnson to Dartmouth, 30th April, 1773.

CHAP. XVIII. suggestion, immediately dispatched deputies to the Senecas
 1772. of the Ohio to inform them of the measure. At the same time to still farther conciliate the south western tribes, the Baronet sent Alexander McKee, a subdeputy of Croghan, to the Indian country, with orders to acquaint the different Indian villages as far as Scioto, that it was the king's intention to have Fort Pitt abandoned, as a mark of his friendship toward them.¹

At every castle where the messenger tarried, his tidings were hailed with joy; and when, late in the fall, Fort Pitt, by order of General Gage, was dismantled, the barracks destroyed, and the garrison removed, the good effect of this conciliating policy became apparent. "I have spoken to many Indians," wrote Croghan from the dismantled fort to Johnson, "and am now fully convinced that their sulkiness and jealousy for some years past, proceeded from a suspicion that the troops kept here and at Fort Chartres, were intended one day or other to be used against them. Since, however, the troops are gone they seem of a quiet temper, and there is no doubt but they will receive a civil government with open arms."²

In January of this year, Rev. Dr. Cooper, the second president of King's College, visited England for the express purpose of laying before Hillsborough a memorial drawn up by Sir William, in which the spiritual wants of the savages were set forth, and an appropriation from the home government solicited, for the support of missionaries and schools in the Indian country.³ The influence of Doctor Lowth, the worthy and learned bishop of Oxford, who was warmly interested in the conversion of the Indians, was also brought to bear upon the colonial secretary. The latter, however, did little more than speak words of encouragement; and the memorial lingered along until his

¹ Manuscript letter; Alexander McKee to Johnson, 26th Nov., 1772.

² Manuscript letter; George Croghan to Johnson, 24th Dec., 1772.

³ Manuscript letter; Johnson to Rev. Charles Inglis, 27th June, 1772. Inglis took charge of the college during the absence of Dr. Cooper.

resignation; soon after which, Doctor Cooper returned home, and the matter rested. In the fall, the project was again revived, and the Baronet endeavored to interest the Society for Propagating the Gospel, in its favor. "I always was, and am, of the opinion," wrote Rev. Charles Inglis to Sir William, "that if this is ever to be done, it must be by your interposition. Providence points you out, in many respects, for this purpose. I have not a doubt but the society will concur and exert themselves on the occasion." From the well known piety of Lord Dartmouth, moreover, its success was considered certain; and in a letter to the Baronet from the same writer occurs the following passage:

"Although I am sorry for Lord Hillsborough's resignation, yet it may turn out for the benefit of this scheme. Lord Dartmouth is one of the most religious men in England. His piety and charity are universally known and acknowledged. You may judge of them in some measure from this circumstance, which may be depended on as true; — that he frequently visits his poor tenants and neighbors in the country, when sick, prays with them himself as a clergyman, and gives them money. A man of this turn must necessarily be influenced by religious motives, which are infinitely the strongest to promote such a scheme as this. I therefore submit it to you, whether it would not be advisable to transmit a copy of the memorial to him. If you approve of this, and will mention the subject to his lordship, I will have a fair copy transcribed for the purpose."¹

Whether a second memorial was ever sent does not appear. The question, however, is not material, as the troublous times, which soon afterward ensued, prevented the farther carrying out of the project.²

¹ Manuscript letter; Rev. Charles Inglis to Sir Wm. Johnson, 27th Oct., 1772.

² Although it is doubtful, as stated in the text, whether another memorial was sent to the minister, yet it is very probable that Lord Dartmouth's

CHAP. XVIII. By the end of the year, Tryon county had become tho-
 1772. roughly organized. On the twenty-fifth of November, writs were issued for the first election, which resulted in the choice of Colonel Guy Johnson and Colonel Hendrik Frey as representatives from the new county; and they accordingly took their seats in the general assembly on the eleventh of January 1773. The new members met with a cordial reception from the house; and Colonel Schuyler, especially, on account of his friendship for the uncle, vied in kind attentions to the nephew.

Indeed, Sir William Johnson was now unquestionably the most influential man in the province. A Baronet of the British realm,—superintendent of the Indian department,—a member of his majesty's council,—a major general of militia, and an extensive land-holder,—he was courted, admired, and respected. “Sir William Johnson's influence,” said a lawyer, “can carry anything he pleases now; he returns two members by his nod, and can direct the election of the Albany and Schenectady members as he pleases.” “I wish his influence,” remarked a friend, “was twice as great, for we are sure its his inclination, and greatly his interest, to use it all for the good of the province.”

donation to the college now bearing his name, was first suggested by this memorial of Sir William.

CHAPTER XIX.

1773-1774.

During the winter and spring session of the assembly, Colonel Guy Johnson distinguished himself as an active and prominent member. Instructed by his father-in-law, with whom he was in daily correspondence, he was especially energetic in framing and introducing measures for the improvement of the new county. "I this day moved," he wrote to Sir William, under date of February second, "for bringing in a bill for establishing ferries, and have already drawn the bill up, as I generally do, even before the motion. I have joined in a road bill with other counties, which is a better one than any before it. I have also carried through a pickling tavern-bill, a hungry wolf-bill, and a filthy swine-bill, to give them their due epithets—also a general excise-bill." He also was instrumental in passing a bill appropriating sixteen hundred pounds for the completion of the jail and court house at Johnstown. Indeed, it appeared as if Tryon county would monopolize the whole business of the session. "The members," he wrote in the same letter, "look queerly at the time which the house has already given to my bills, which is without precedent." The house, however, were willing to extend to the new representative all due courtesy, and during the entire session, the greatest good will prevailed. Once only, it seemed as if the general harmony would be disturbed. The occasion was as follows. On the seventh of January, Colonel Seaman presented to the house a bill "to remedy the evils to which the colony was exposed, from the quantities of counterfeit money introduced into it." Colonel Johnson at once took issue with the representative

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XIX.

1773.

CHAP. from Queens, respecting the manner in which the bill proposed to remedy the evils and the house becoming divided, XIX.
 1773. a warm debate ensued. The motives, which influenced the colonel in opposing a measure so judicious, will appear from the following passage, written by him to the Baronet, while the bill was in progress.

“The house has been hitherto quiet and friendly, but many circumstances now threaten an interruption of that harmony. In the first place, the governor in his speech, recommended some expedient to prevent the circulation of the false money of which above eight thousand pounds is now already in this province. The house prepared a bill for emitting a new set of bills on better paper, and calling in the rest. As this was in the face of a late British act of parliament which incapacitates any governor from ever serving in any capacity, military or civil, that shall pass a money bill, the house sent the bill in confidence to the governor to get his sentiments, who declared it would not be in his power to pass it, and that in delicacy they should not urge it farther, after receiving his private opinion. Most of the members say that it has already gone so far, that their constituents expect that it will be pushed up to the council, that the public may see where it meets with opposition. The arguments for it are, that it appears the best expedient for demolishing the bad money, and that it has already been committed without opposition, and is not a new emission, but an exchange. Those against it are, that after taking the governor’s private opinion, it is indelicate to push it, and in case it is disapproved at home, we shall have no currency at all, as the old is condemned. I spoke against it nearly half an hour, and was seconded by two of the best speakers in the house, with just success enough to stave off the evil day. To day it came on again, and crowds attended on the occasion, but we got it adjourned.¹

¹ Manuscript letter; Guy Johnson to Sir William Johnson, 2d Feb., 1773.

Before, however, the final vote was taken, Philip Schuyler proposed as a substitute another bill, the peculiar feature of which was, that a committee should be instructed to have a plate engraved in such a manner as would render it difficult to be counterfeited. As a device, he proposed "an eye in a cloud — a cart and coffins — three felons on a gallows — a weeping father and mother, with several small children — a burning pit — human figures forced into it by fiends, and a label with these words: "*Let the name of a money maker rot.*" together with such other additions as might be thought proper. Forty-four thousand copies of this design were then "to be struck off on thin paper, and pasted, or affixed to each of the bills emitted by the act."¹ He also suggested, "that the engraver or printer should make oaths that the plates had not been out of his hands; the plates when the printing should be done, to be sealed up and given to the treasurer of the colony; the treasurer to give the commissioners a receipt for the paper copies struck off; no bill to be considered genuine without such paper upon its back; commissioners to take oath of fidelity; and a reward to be given for the detection of counterfeiters."² This substitute gave general satisfaction. Colonel Johnson withdrew his opposition; and the bill thus amended, passed the council, on the sixth of March, without farther alteration.

Scarcely had this matter been amicably adjusted by the happy suggestion of Schuyler, when the introduction of an act, appointing commissioners to settle the boundary line between New York and Massachusetts, fanned anew the embers of controversy. The member from Orange — John De Noyelles, who had heretofore been a warm loyalist, and whose influence was very great, had recently taken offence at the governor's militia appointments, and now threw himself fiercely into the opposition.³ This was

¹ Assembly journals.

² Life of Philip Schuyler, by Lossing.

³ Manuscript letter; Col. Guy Johnson to Sir Wm. Johnson.

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 1773. a source of considerable annoyance, for the boundary dispute had now been of such long standing, that it was the earnest wish of both Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York that it should be forever set at rest. The bill, however, was carried by a large majority in the house, receiving on the third of March, the sanction of the council. Accordingly, in the middle of May, Governor Tryon, accompanied by the New York commissioners, met the commissioners and governors of the other two states at Hartford. When there is a real disposition on both sides to settle a disputed point, an agreement is not far distant. A boundary line was therefore soon determined upon which should run parallel with the Hudson river, twenty miles eastward of that stream; and thus this controversy, which had been for many years productive of much irritation, and some effusion of blood, was amicably settled.

Meanwhile, the daily routine of Johnson Hall was varied by two incidents of a pleasing character. The first was the arrival, in February, of two young French Indians from Doctor Wheelock's school, who thus sought an opportunity of seeing and conversing face to face with their Great Brother of the Six Nations; and the second, was the marriage of Sir John Johnson to Miss Mary Watts¹ of New York city. In reference to this latter event Sir William wrote to a friend as follows:

"I thank you very kindly for your congratulations on the choice my son has lately made, and am very happy to hear that the young lady appears so deserving in the eyes of my friends, having left it to his own discretion, without tying up his hands in a business on which his future happiness must so greatly depend.

"I feel all possible satisfaction at the approach of a period so interesting to his felicity, and, from the general character of the lady, so much to be wished for by myself, who have long desired to see him happily settled. The precarious state of my health, however, for some years past, with the

¹ Sister to the late venerable John Watts, who died in 1836.

often unexpected calls for my presence in the country, put it out of my power to promise myself the pleasure with any certainty of bearing a part on the occasion, notwithstanding the powerful inducements of love and friendship I am nevertheless very sensible of the force of both.”¹

The pleasing event, here referred to, took place on the evening of the twenty-ninth of June, at the residence of the bride's father; and on the following morning, the young couple embarked in a schooner for Albany, reaching the Hall toward the close of July. On their arrival, Sir William, whose health was now very precarious, and who had only waited to welcome his son and his bride before going to the sea-side, immediately set off for New London, leaving the care of the Indian department to his son-in-law, Guy Johnson.

While Sir William was endeavoring to recuperate his overworked system by the salt water, the complexion of affairs between the mother country and her colonies had again assumed a threatening hue. Blind to their own interests, the ministry thought only of reducing their “rebellious subjects” to submission. Mortified and exasperated at the signal failure of their attempt to foist the stamp act upon the colonists, they were ready to embrace any scheme which promised to soothe their wounded pride. An opportunity for doing this soon came. The East India Company were now suffering severely from the effect of the non-importation agreements. Unable to make their annual payments to the government of fourteen hundred thousand pounds, they found themselves in the spring of the present year, with seventeen millions of pounds of tea on their hands, on the very verge of bankruptcy. In this state of affairs, the company, in April, petitioned parliament for permission to export their teas to America, and other countries, free of duty. This request, however, the ministry, jealous of relinquishing in the least

¹ Manuscript letter; Sir Wm. Johnson to Major Moncrieffe, May 23, 1773.

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1773. their right to tax the colonies, would not grant, but, by a special act of parliament, passed on the tenth of June, allowed the company to ship their tea to America free of any export duty — thus putting it in the power of the company to sell their tea at a lower price in America than in England. No act that the home government had hitherto passed, showed more plainly its utter inability to comprehend the great principle for which the colonies were contending, than this. It was clear that the ministry supposed that the motive of the colonists in resisting taxation was merely of a sordid nature. This idea was in itself sufficiently humiliating; and now, when by making concessions to the East India Company, a direct attempt was made to buy them off by an appeal to their pockets, the indignation of the colonists was raised to the highest pitch.

The plan of union as proposed by Virginia, and which had now been adopted by all the New England colonies, rendered concert of action much easier than heretofore. Accordingly as soon as it was known that the tea ships were on their way to America, measures were immediately taken to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The non-importation agreements, which had of late grown lax, became again stringent; and the correspondence between the vigilant committees of the several colonies was renewed with greater activity than ever. On the eighteenth of October, the inhabitants of Philadelphia assembled in the State House; and having in several spirited resolutions denied the right of parliament to tax America, and denounced the duty on tea, compelled the agents of the East India Company, by the mere force of public opinion, to resign. In Boston, the patriots were no less active. Town meetings were constantly held, and committees appointed to confer with committees from the neighboring towns, upon the best method of “preventing the landing and sale of the teas exported from the East India Company.” Unlike, however, the excitement produced by the stamp act, everything was now done “decently and in order.” The burning of the

Gaspee in the waters of the Naragansett on the night of the seventeenth of June, 1772, was suggestive. On the night of the sixteenth of December, three tea-ships which lay moored at Griffin's wharf, were boarded by a party of men disguised as Mohawk Indians, and their cargoes, consisting of three hundred and forty chests of tea, thrown into the waters of the bay. CHAP.
XIX.
1773.

Nor was New York behind her sister colonies in resisting this new feature of ministerial oppression. Two days after the meeting in Philadelphia, the Sons of Liberty held a public meeting, in which they denounced in unequivocal terms the importation of the hateful article; and declared with such effect, that tea commissioners were fully as obnoxious as stamp distributors, that the commissioners appointed for New York forthwith resigned. Public sentiment, moreover, was not confined merely to resolves. A remark of Governor Tryon that "the tea should be delivered to the consignees, even if it was sprinkled with blood," was not calculated to pour oil upon the troubled waters; and so soon as it was known that consignments of tea would shortly reach the city, another mass meeting of the citizens was held at their old rendezvous — "the fields," — to devise measures for preventing the landing of the tea from the vessel which was hourly expected. Hardly had the people assembled, when Whitehead Hicks, the mayor, hastened to the meeting charged with a message from the governor, to the effect that when the vessel arrived, the tea should be publicly taken from the ship into the fort and there kept, until the advice of the council could be taken, or the king's order could be known. The moment was critical, but John Lamb, — by whose influence undoubtedly the meeting had been called, — at once saw through the artifice. He immediately arose and addressed the assembly. After giving a summary of the grievances which had brought them together, he read the act of parliament, which prescribed the payment of the duty if the article was landed, and then asked, "shall the tea be

CHAP. landed?" A unanimous *No!* repeated three times, clearly
 XIX. showed the mind of his audience.¹

1774. But this spirit of resistance to parliamentary usurpation was not shared in by the assembly, whose members were more subservient than ever. Notwithstanding the conduct of the governor, they did not hesitate in the spring session, to vote five thousand pounds toward rebuilding the government house which had been recently destroyed by fire; and in response to his opening speech, in which they were informed that he had been called home to confer with the ministry in relation to the New Hampshire grants, they expressed the hope that his return to a grateful people would be speedy. Indeed, as Mr. Dunlop remarks, if the number of compliments paid him upon his departure was any test, it would seem as if he was very much beloved. Several of the loyalists residing in the city gave him a public dinner; General Haldimand, who had succeeded Gage as commander-in-chief, honored him with a ball; corporations and societies vied in presenting addresses; King's College created him a doctor in civil law; and the general assembly tendered him an address, in which, after expressing their appreciation of the uprightness and integrity of his conduct, they added in yet more fulsome eulogy, that they thought it their duty, as the representatives of a free and happy people, to pay this tribute of applause and acknowledgement to a governor who had so eminently distinguished himself by his constant attention to their care and prosperity! The governor, in return, thanked them for their "truly loyal and affectionate address;" and having, on the nineteenth of March, summoned the general assembly to his house, gave his assent to the acts that had been passed, and closed the session by prorogation.

Thus ended the third session of the legislature of the colony, and the administration of Governor Tryon, without having in a single instance, come into collision with

¹ Leake's Life of General Lamb.

his excellency, or even with the legislative council, save in the matter of a disagreement between the two bodies in respect to an amendment to the militia bill, proposed by the council, but to which the house disagreed. An attempt was made in the council, on motion of Mr. Smith, to obtain a conference, but the proposition was voted down. The amendment referred to, according to the reasons of dissent recorded by Mr. Smith, was an invasion of the royal prerogative; and had the bill been passed in the shape insisted upon by the house, Mr. Smith maintained that it would have received the governor's negative. According to the reasons of dissent, the rejection of the amendment of the council, evinced a determination by the house to control the action of the governor in commanding the services of the militia, while there were indications that their services would be required to quell insurrection in the New Hampshire grants. Mr. Smith set forth that a similar amendment sent to the house in 1772, had been concurred in by that body, and that no reason was perceptible justifying a change of sentiments upon the question; and he thought a friendly conference might induce the house to yield. Other reasons for his assent were given; and he referred to open surmises abroad, that the legislature was losing its confidence in the governor, and the loss of the bill with the provision in question might be viewed as an evidence that the legislature had not been "sincere in the testimonials they had given and justly awarded to his excellency, for an administration wise and impartial, fair and generous, and steadily conducted upon principles unbiassed by party feuds, and acknowledged to be equally friendly to the rights of the crown, and the weal of the colony." But the conference was not asked, and in fact there was no collision.

This profound tranquility which had succeeded the election of the present general assembly in 1770, was the more remarkable from the raging of the political elements all around New York, and from the circumstances under

CHAP. which the preceding assembly had been dissolved, and the
XIX. feelings attending the new election. The preceding assem-
1774. bly had been dissolved for its strong declaration of those constitutional principles which had been planted in the bosoms of the colonists from their settlement, and which were striking deeper root every hour. And yet, neither under Sir Henry Moore, who had dissolved the preceding, and summoned the present legislature, nor under Lord Dunmore, nor under Governor Tryon, had a breeze moved upon the political waters, so far as the legislature was concerned, save only by its concurrence in the Virginia resolutions of May 1769; nor did that act of concurrence occasion any visible agitation. But it was the deep, solemn calm, which often precedes the lightning and the whirlwind!

CHAPTER XX.

1774.

Sir William Johnson was too observing and sagacious a ^{CHAP.}
man not to note the signs of the times. He saw the ^{XX}
gathering tempest, and it is believed to have given him ^{1774.}
great uneasiness. His sympathies, according to the testimony of those who knew him, were undoubtedly with the people. He was from the body of the people himself, having been the architect of his own fortunes; and those who were acquainted with him,¹ represent the struggle in his bosom to have been great, between those sympathies and his own strong principles of liberty on the one hand, and his duty to his sovereign on the other—a sovereign whom he had served long and faithfully, and who in turn had loaded him with princely benefactions. And yet, there can be no doubt—judging from the passages which have been quoted in the course of this work, and also from the numerous expressions running through the entire correspondence of his later life—that had he lived until it was necessary to have taken a decided stand, he would have boldly espoused the cause of the colonies.

Most unfortunate was it, however, that, just at this conjuncture, while all sagacious men saw by the shadows what events were coming, and all good men were solicitous for the preservation of the character and augmentation of the physical strength of the country, a small band of bad ones adopted a course well fitted to awaken the jealousy

¹A portion of my father's early life was spent in the valley of the Mohawk; during which period he conversed with several persons of character who had known Sir William intimately—all of whom reiterated the statement made in the text. The statement therefore does not rest on *mere tradition*.

CHAP. of the whole Indian race, and exasperate a portion of them
 XX. to the highest pitch of anger and revenge. It was evident
 1774. that the colonies were about to measure swords with one
 of the strongest powers in Christendom, and to strike for
 freedom. True wisdom, therefore, required that the clouds
 of Indians darkening more than a thousand miles of our
 border, and in the north forming an intermediate power
 between our own settlements and the country of the anti-
 cipated foe, should be at least conciliated into neutrality,
 if not courted into an alliance. But a contrary course was
 taken by some of the frontier-men of Virginia, awakened
 by a succession of outrages, unprovoked and more cruel
 than savages, as such, could have committed. The well
 informed reader will at once anticipate that reference is
 now had to the hostilities upon the north-western frontier
 of Virginia, commonly known as CRESAP'S WAR, and one
 striking event of which has rendered every American ear
 familiar with the name of LOGAN, the celebrated Mingo
 chief.¹

Among the many families that the wars and conquests
 of the Six Nations had been the cause of transplanting
 over the countries subjected to their arms, was the family
 of Logan, the son of Shikellimus, a distinguished Cayuga
 sachem, who had removed from the particular location of
 his own tribe, to Shamokin or Canestoga, within the bor-
 ders of Pennsylvania, where he executed the duties of
 principal chief of those of the Six Nations residing on the
 Susquehanna. He was a man of consequence and
 humanity, and one of the earliest to encourage the intro-
 duction of Christianity by Count Zinzendorf. He was a
 great friend of the celebrated James Logan, who accom-
 panied William Penn on his last voyage to America, and
 who subsequently became distinguished in the colony for
 his learning and benevolence. Hence the name of the
 famous son of Shikellimus.

¹ Mingo, Menque, Maquas, and Iroquois, are all only different names
 applied to the Six Nations.

Logan had removed from his father's lodge at Shamokin to the Shawanese country on the Ohio, where he had become a chief. He was a friend of the white men, and one of the noblest of his race, not only by right of birth, but in consideration of his own character. During the Indian wars connected with the contest with France, he took no part, save in the character of a peace-maker.

The circumstances which transformed this good and just man from a sincere friend into a bitter foe, were as follows: In the spring of this year a party of land agents, under the lead of Captain Michael Cresap, were engaged in locating and opening farms in the valley of the Ohio, near the present towns of Pittsburg and Wheeling. Hearing that the Indians in the vicinity were bent on hostilities, Cresap and his party determined, on the twenty-sixth of April, to make war upon them without investigation, and irrespective, as a matter of course, of the guilt or innocence of those whom they should attack. On the same day, falling in with two Indians on the Ohio river, Cresap and his men killed them. Espying, moreover, upon the following day, some canoes of Indians passing down the river, chase was given; and having driven them on shore near Grave creek, the land agents came suddenly upon them and fired into the group. A skirmish ensued; but the Indians were soon forced to retire with the loss of one man, leaving their canoes in possession of Cresap and his party. Not satisfied with this achievement, the party were for marching at once against the settlement of Logan, situated thirty miles up the river near the mouth of Yellow creek. They had proceeded, however, but five miles, when Cresap, having reflected upon the gross outrage about to be perpetrated on an inoffensive clan, refused to go farther, and to his honor be it said, finally prevailed upon his companions to abandon the undertaking.¹

¹ See Brantz Mayer's address on Logan and Captain Cresap, delivered before the *Maryland Historical Society* in 1851. This address, which is characterized throughout by elaborate and patient research, will well repay its perusal.

CHAP. XX. Others, however, were troubled with no such scruples.
1774. On the east bank of the Ohio, opposite Logan's encampment, was a white settlement, among the leading men of which was one named Daniel Greathouse. The Indians of the opposite camp, having heard of the atrocities committed by Cresap and his party, determined to avenge their death,—of which resolution Greathouse was admonished by a friendly squaw, who advised him to escape, while he was reconnoitering for the purpose of ascertaining their numbers. He had crossed the river with thirty-two men under his command, and secreted them for the purpose of falling upon the Indians; but finding that they were too strong for him, he changed his plan of operations, recrossed the river, and with a show of friendship, invited them over to an entertainment. Without suspicion of treachery the Indians accepted the invitation, and while engaged in drinking — some of them to a state of intoxication — they were set upon and butchered in cold blood. Here fell two of the family of Logan — a brother and sister. The Indians who had remained at their encampment on the other side of the river, hearing the noise of the treacherous attack, ran to their canoes to rescue their friends. This movement had been anticipated; and sharp-shooters, stationed in ambuscade, shot numbers of them in their canoes, and compelled the others to return.

These dastardly transactions were soon followed by another outrage, which, though of less magnitude, was not less atrocious in its spirit, while it was even more harrowing to the feelings of the Indians. The event referred to was the murder, by a white man, of an aged and inoffensive Delaware chief named the *Bald Eagle*. He had for years consorted more with the white people than with his own, visiting those most frequently who entertained him best. At the time of his murder he had been on a visit to the fort at the north of the Kanawha, and was killed while alone paddling his canoe. The man who committed the

murder, it was said, had been a sufferer at the hands of the Indians; but he had never been injured by the object upon whom he wreaked his vengeance. After tearing the scalp from his head, the white savage placed the body in a sitting posture in the canoe, and sent it adrift down the stream. The voyage of the dead chief was observed by many, who supposed him living, and upon one of his ordinary excursions. When, however, the deed became known, his nation was not slow in avowals of vengeance. Equally exasperated, at about the same time, were the Shawanese against the whites, by the murder of one of their favorite chiefs, *Silver Heels*, who had in the kindest manner undertaken to escort several white traders through the woods from the Ohio to Albany, a distance of nearly five hundred miles.

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1774.

This last outrage was, moreover, the less excusable, from the fact that while in defiance of the treaty at Fort Stanwix, in 1768, the borderers had been rapidly settling upon the lands expressly reserved for the Indians, the Shawanese, as a nation, restrained by the influence of Sir William Johnson, had witnessed these aggressions upon their territory in silence; and until the murder of *Silver Heels*, they had, with unusual self-discipline, refrained from avenging the murders committed by Cresap and his associates.¹ The murder, however, of their favorite chief thoroughly aroused the sleeping lion of their nature; and regarding the scalping of the *Bald Eagle* as a declaration of war,² the Delawares and Shawanese under Cornstalk, and the Ohio Senecas, led by Logan, threw themselves with fire and tomahawk upon the Virginia border.

As soon as the intelligence of these wanton murders reached the chiefs of the Six Nations, they signified to

¹ Manuscript letter; Alexander McKee to Sir William Johnson, 6th May, 1774.

² The Indians *always* regarded the scalping of a murdered person as a national act and a declaration of war. *Johnson to the Minister*, 29th June, 1772.

CHAP. Sir William their desire to hold a congress with him,
 XX. without delay, upon the critical situation of affairs. When
 1774. it is recollected that Logan, the principal sufferer, was of
 their own blood, nothing, perhaps, shows more clearly the
 extraordinary influence of the Baronet over the Confed-
 eracy, than the fact that their first impulse was not to seize
 the tomahawk and commence an indiscriminate butchery
 of the whites, but to solicit a conference, that they might
 calmly state their grievances and wait for his advice. The
 request was of course granted; and by the nineteenth of
 June, two hundred Onondagas had arrived at the Hall,
 bringing the intelligence that four hundred more of the
 Confederates were on their way thither.

The efforts of Sir William Johnson, at this crisis, were
 indefatigable. From early in the morning until late in
 the night, he was in conversation with the principal
 sachems as they arrived from day to day; and all his per-
 suasive powers were exerted at this critical juncture to
 induce them to take a firm stand at the approaching Con-
 gress against participating in the war, which was even then
 raging fiercely on the border. In addition, moreover, to
 these personal labors, he was in constant communication
 with Croghan, McKee, and their subdeputies, residing on
 the Ohio and Illinois; and not a day passed without the
 arrival of faithful Indian runners at the Hall, bringing
 valuable information, and keeping him thoroughly cog-
 nizant of all that was occurring upon the frontiers. "I
 have daily," he wrote at this time to the colonial secretary,
 "to combat with thousands, who, by their avarice, cruelty,
 or indiscretion, are constantly counteracting all judicious
 measures with the Indians; but I shall still persevere.
 The occasion requires it; and I shall never be without
 hopes till I find myself without that influence, which has
 never yet forsaken me on the most trying occasions."¹

By the seventh of July, nearly six hundred Indians
 having assembled at the Hall, their chiefs earnestly

¹ Manuscript letter.

requested that the congress might no longer be delayed. CHAP.
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1774.
 Sir William was in no condition, physically, to grant this request. The exhausting labors of nearly a month had brought on a severe attack of his old complaint—dysentery—to which, especially in the summer months, he was always subject when overworked. Hitherto, when laboring under this difficulty, it will be remembered, his practice had been to resort to the sea side for relief; but the arduous duties before him at this time did not allow of such a course. Yet, although greatly prostrated by the complaint, such was the alarming situation of affairs, and the consequent necessity for immediate action, that, dismissing all personal considerations, he held a preliminary conference on the eighth, and on the ninth opened the congress in due form.

The first day was principally occupied by Senhowane, a Seneca chief, in a relation of the grievances to which the Six Nations had been subjected, both by the infringement, on the part of the whites, of the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and also by the utter confusion into which the Indian trade had been thrown, since its management had been entrusted to the colonies. In reference to the first mentioned source of complaint, the speaker said: "It seems that your people entirely disregard and despise the settlement agreed upon by their superiors and us; for we find that they, notwithstanding that settlement, have come in vast numbers to the Ohio, and have given our people to understand that they would settle where they pleased. If this is the case," added the Seneca, "the Confederacy will, hereafter, look upon any engagement at that time made with them as void and of no effect." He hoped, however, that this was not the design of the English as a nation; and he implored that if in future the whites insisted on settling so near their territory, they might at least be made subject to some authority that would control them. Altogether, the speech was temperate, and evinced a better state of feeling than the most sanguine could have antici-

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1774. pated. When the speaker had ended, he was followed by a Cayuga war chief, who, in a feeling manner, spoke of the mischief occasioned among his people by the rum, which the traders, in spite of entreaties, continued to sell — urging, in view of this, that no trader should hereafter be allowed to come to Cayuga upon any pretence whatever. By the time the Cayuga chief had finished his remarks, it was late in the afternoon, and the Congress was thereupon adjourned, the Indians retiring to their encampment.

The next day was the sabbath. Sir William accordingly deferred his answer until Monday, the eleventh of July. At half past nine in the morning, the Indians had all assembled; and at ten o'clock the Baronet began his speech. His remarks were chiefly directed to the encroachment of the whites upon the Indian territory; and with all the persuasiveness of his eloquence, he assured the chiefs that the outrages which had been committed were the acts of a few individuals, and not of the government, which would take immediate measures to ferret out and punish the guilty parties. At the same time, he reminded them that they themselves were not wholly without blame, and that they, too, must control their own people, and prevent their being led astray by the wily Shawanese. This speech, delivered with all the fire and vivacity of an Indian orator, lasted for more than two hours; and although the Indians were seated under a burning July sun, yet they listened throughout with grave attention. As soon as Sir William had ceased speaking, pipes and tobacco were distributed among the Indians, and the meeting was adjourned for the purpose of giving them an opportunity to prepare their reply.

This last effort of the Baronet was too much for his already overtaxed system. Scarcely had his audience dispersed, when he was seized with an aggravated attack of his disease, which obliged him to be supported to his library. At the time that he was seized with this relapse,

Sir John was absent at the old fort—distant nine miles. An express was sent for him, and, mounting a fleet English blood-horse, he rode for the Hall with all possible haste. His horse fell dead when within three quarters of a mile of the house, having run upward of eight miles in fifteen minutes. Sir John hired a horse of some one standing by, and pushed forward to the Hall. On entering the room, he found his father in the arms of a faithful domestic, who attended upon his person. He spoke to his parent, but received no answer; and in a few minutes afterward the Baronet expired—in the sixtieth year of his age. This was early in the evening. While the judges of the circuit court were at supper in the village, one mile distant, a young Mohawk Indian entered their apartment, and announced the event.¹

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1774.

Upon the first announcement of Sir William's decease,

¹ It was reported by Sir William's enemies,—or rather by the enemies of the crown,—that he perished by his own hand, in consequence of the clouds which he saw darkening the political sky; and such an impression is yet very generally entertained. The tradition is, that on the day of his decease, he had received dispatches from England, which were handed to him while sitting in court, and with which he immediately left the court house and walked to his own house. These dispatches, it was afterward reported, contained instructions to him to use his influence with the Indians on behalf of the crown, in the event of hostilities. Another version of the tradition is, that on the day in question, he had received dispatches from Boston, the complexion of which, in his own mind, indicated that a war was near and inevitable. In such an event, he saw that he must either prove recreant to his principles, or take part against the crown; and, to avoid either alternative, it has been extensively believed that he put an end to his life. But there is no ground whatever for this uncharitable conclusion, even if we had not the official account to the board of trade—lately given the world in the *New York Colonial History*—which crushes forever this foul suspicion. The immediate cause of Sir William's death, is called, in Guy Johnson's letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, "a suffocation," and in the official record of the last congress held by the Baronet, "a flt." By these terms, however, it was only meant a difficulty of breathing, amounting at times to almost a spasm, which, in Sir William's case, always accompanied his disease. This is evident from the following letter written to Sir William by his physician a year before his decease. I find it among my collection of the Johnson manuscripts.

CHAP. XX.
 1774. the Indians appeared stupefied, and in the greatest confusion and doubt, were on the point of sending belts throughout the Confederacy to publish their loss, and their apprehensions that they were left without a protector. Before, however, their design could be carried into effect, Colonel Guy Johnson came among them, and having promised that, as deputy of the late superintendent, he would take charge of their affairs until his majesty's pleasure was known, they became calm, and departed to their encampment to prepare the usual ceremony of condolence for the death of their GREAT BROTHER.

“ALBANY, 22d June, 1778.

“Dear Sir :

“My return home was not soon enough to be able to forward you the medicines you requested, by the post, since which I have wanted an opportunity.

“Four or five of the pills, more or less, may be taken every morning and evening, so as to keep the body moderately loose; and the electuary I would advise you only to use at those times *when you are apprehensive of the fits coming on, from a sense of compressure and tightness across the stomach*; at which times the quantity of a large filbert may be taken every two or three hours, made into pills, accompanied with small draughts of warm whey, which will probably remove the cause in the course of a few doses, by opening the obstructed passage of the gall; which should afterwards be carried downwards by gently purging medicines taken in frequent draughts of warm whey. Perhaps a drachm of cream tarter in fine powder, to which a drop of anise seed oil is added, taken in draughts of whey, sweetened with manna, (the disagreeableness of which would be taken off by the acidity of the cream of tarter,) every hour until it purged, would answer the intention better than any other.

“Soap has been looked upon as improper to be given to persons troubled with scorbutic ulcers. But I have seen it administered in such cases without producing any sensibly ill effects; and undoubtedly Dr. McGrah would not have prescribed it as an ingredient in the pills with the rhubarb, as he did for you, if he had been apprehensive of any bad consequences from the use of it.

“Should these medicines, or any others that may be recommended, prove efficacious in the removal of your disorder, it would give an inexpressible pleasure to

“Dear Sir,

“Your most obedient and very humble servant,

SAM. STRINGER.

“Sir William Johnson, Bart.”

The obsequies of the late Baronet took place on the ^{CHAP.}thirteenth, which was Wednesday. The funeral cortege, ⁸⁸consisting of nearly two thousand people from the sur- ¹⁷⁴⁶rounding country, moved from the Hall early in the afternoon. The pall was borne by Governor Franklin of New Jersey, the Judges of the Supreme Court of New York, Goldsbrow Banyar and Stephen De Lancey; and the remains were deposited, after appropriate services, in the family vault, under the altar of the stone church which he had erected. The Indians also attended the funeral in a body, and "behaved," adds the official record transmitted to the lords of trade, "with the greatest decorum, and exhibited the most lively marks of real sorrow." As soon as the funeral rites were finished, the sachems waited upon Colonel Johnson, and informed him that they would perform the ceremony of condolence on the following day.

Accordingly, early the next morning, the chiefs of the Six Nations having assembled in presence of Colonel Johnson, Colonel Claus, Goldsbrow Banyar and other persons of note, Conoghquieson, chief of Oneida, began the touching ceremony. Having with three strings of wampum cleared the sight and wiped away all tears, the Oneida, with a double belt covered the body, and with another large belt of six rows covered the grave. Then turning to Colonel Johnson, he thus addressed him:

"*Brother*: It yields us vast pleasure to find that the fire which was in danger of being totally extinguished by the great loss we have sustained, is for the present rendered bright by you,—the good words which you spoke to us yesterday having revived us, and kept our young men within reasonable bounds, who otherwise would have lost their senses. We rejoice at it, and accordingly, with this belt, we cause the fire to burn clear as usual at this place, and at Onondaga, which are our proper fire-places, and we hope the great king will approve and confirm it.

A Belt of Seven Rows.

"*Brother*: With this belt we sweep the fire-place clean,

CHAP. removing from it all impure and disagreeable objects, so
 XX.
 - - that we may sit around it, and consult as usual for the
 1774. public good.

A Belt of Seven Rows.

“*Brother* : With these strings we request that when our ceremonies are performed, you will apply your attention to our affairs, and continue to give good advice to the young men as your father did.

A Bunch of Strings.

“*Brother* : We know that you must be loaded with grief on this melancholy occasion ; we therefore now cleanse your body, and wash your inside with clean water so that you may once more attend to and proceed upon business.

“*Brother* : The heavy clouds which have hung over you and us, have prevented us from seeing the sun ; it is therefore our business with this string to clear the sky. And we likewise with this string (giving Colonel Johnson another) put the sun in its proper course, that it may perform the same as before, so that you may be enabled to see what is doing and pursue the good works of peace.

Three Strings.

“*Brother* : Since it has pleased the *Great Spirit* to take from us our GREAT BROTHER WARRAGHIYAGEY, who has long desired at our request to put you in his place, we very much rejoice to find you ready to take this charge upon you, without which we should be in darkness and great confusion. We are now once more happy, and with this belt we expect you to take care of our affairs ; *to follow his footsteps* ; and as you very well know his ways and transactions with us, that *you will continue to imitate them for the good of the public.*

A Belt of Six Rows.

“*Brother* : We now speak in the name of our whole Confederacy and dependants, expressing our thanks that, agreeably to our former request to Sir William Johnson, we now see you taking care of our affairs. We earnestly expect you to take due care of them as that *great man did*,

who promised you to us; and we now desire that you will send these our words to the great king, who, we hope, will regard our desires, and approve of you as the only person that knows us and our affairs, that business may go on as it did formerly. Otherwise, in this alarming time of trouble, without your care and attention, our affairs will fall into great confusion, and all our good works will be destroyed. We beg, therefore, you will accept our good wishes, and that you will continue to take care of the great business in which we are all concerned.”

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A Large Black Belt of Nine Rows.

Thus closed this affecting ceremonial—affecting, because the last and only tribute which the faithful Iroquois had it in their power to pay to the memory of him, who, for upward of forty years, had been their steadfast friend and benefactor.

Sir William was succeeded in his title and estates by his son, Sir John Johnson; but the reins of authority as general superintendent of the Indian department, fell into the hands of Colonel Guy Johnson, who, in accordance with the Baronet's request, made a few months prior to his death, received that office from the king, shortly after his uncle's decease.¹ This officer was assisted by Colonel Claus, who, having been his father-in-law's deputy in Canada for a long series of years, was well qualified to give advice. On the decease of his father, Sir John also succeeded to his post as major general of the militia.²

¹ This request was made in a letter to Dartmouth, dated April 17th, 1774. It would seem that Sir William was impressed with the idea that he would die suddenly, as the chief ground upon which the request is made is, that “the infirmities which have often threatened his life, renders it, at best, very precarious.” The Indians, also, evidently perceived that his health was failing, for they requested him to have Guy Johnson appointed his successor in case of his decease.

² It may be well to state here, that the tradition of Sir William having visited England and Ireland in the fall of 1773, is erroneous. My reason for this statement is as follows: In a manuscript letter, now before me, to Colonel Massey, under date of June 15th, 1773, Sir William Johnson writes:

CHAP. XX. The distinguishing feature of Sir William Johnson's
 1774. character was strict integrity. In this, is to be found the great secret of his marvellous ascendancy over the Indians. Cajoled and cheated by the English traders for a long series of years, the red man had learned to regard the name of Englishman as a synonym of fraud and deceit. From the time, however, of the Baronet's settlement in the valley of the Mohawk until his decease, they had ever found him true to his word and conscientious in his dealings. "Sir William Johnson," said they, "*never deceived us.*"³ To the Indians, not only of the Six Nations but those far in the west beyond, who had fallen within the circle of his influence after the conquest of Canada and the subjugation of Pontiac, he had been as a father, and they looked up to him with veneration. To the nations of the Confederacy, more especially, Sir William seemed a part of themselves. His joys and griefs were shared in equally by them; and when, in 1772, one of his children by Molly Brant died, the chief of the Senecas waited upon the commanding officer at Niagara, and with tears in his eyes announced the loss which his BROTHER had sustained. This feeling, moreover, was not confined to the Indians alone. Long association with him, and great respect for

"My health has been for several years past so much impaired that I cannot have the least prospect (were it otherwise convenient) to visit Ireland; and therefore one great satisfaction of my life is to hear of the happiness of my friends there, since I cannot be a witness of it." And in another letter, in the state library at Albany, written but a few weeks previous to his decease, Sir William distinctly says that he has never visited his native country since the first time he came to America.

For a copy of Sir William Johnson's will, see No. viii, of appendix. A perusal of this document will give the reader a correct idea of the domains of the Baronet—domains larger and fairer than probably ever belonged to a single proprietor in America, William Penn only excepted.

See also appendix No. ix and x, for a sketch of Sir John Johnson, and an account of the disinterment and reburial of the remains of Sir William Johnson in the summer of 1862.

³ "I always followed your great example, and am certain no Indian can ever say, I deceived him or told him a lie." *Manuscript letter; B. Roberts to Johnson, 3d Aug., 1772.*

his character — which, from its blunt honesty, frankness CHAP. XX. and generosity, was well calculated to secure the attach-
ment of such people — had also given his opinions the 1774.
force of legal authority among the colonists; and no public or private enterprise was undertaken in the northern colonies, concerning which his advice was not solicited.

Nor were the colonists singular in bowing to his opinions. His indomitable energy, his industry, the method which he introduced into all his transactions, his untiring devotion to British interests, and his zeal in the duties of his department, rendered him invaluable to the crown. The British ministry hesitated before taking a single step in reference to the Indian department, until they had consulted the Baronet. No measure affecting Indian relations was adopted by them without his advice; and more frequently their policy was suggested by himself. Indeed, it is safe to say, that no person in the British realm, other than Sir William Johnson, could have deviated so entirely from the royal instructions at the treaty of Fort Stanwix with impunity. A cabinet minister, under similar circumstances, would have been forced to resign, or have been dismissed in disgrace. Sir William neither resigned nor was dismissed; his services could not be dispensed with; and royalty for the time acquiesced. A man, who, from an humble origin, could rise by his own exertions to a position, in which from the back woods of America he controlled the British parliament, was of no ordinary mould.

Another trait of Sir William's character — and which added not a little to his influence over the Indians — was his power of adaptation. This he possessed in a remarkable degree. He was at ease, whether entertaining in his baronial mansion the polished scion of nobility, or the rude savage; whether mingling in the saloons of wealth and fashion, or seated on the earthy floor of the bark wigwam. The same faculty was also shown in all the varied relations, which, in the course of his life, he was called upon to sustain. A trader in peltry, he was upright and

CHAP. XX.
 1774. affable; a counsellor, he was sagacious and prudent; a major general, courageous but cautious; superintendent of the Indian department, wise and discerning; a Baronet of the British realm, courtly in his hospitalities; a large landed proprietor with a numerous tenantry, kind and just.

Sir William is described by modern historians as having a "coarse mind," and withal as "vain of his rank and influence." Both of these allegations, however, rest solely upon the writings of those who were his violent personal and political enemies. At the time in which he lived, political animosities ran high between New England and New York; and the latter province, in the person of Sir William Johnson, happened to be arrayed against the former, in Governor Shirley. Those of the New England troops who had come in contact with him at Lake George in 1755, admired, it is true, his many personal and soldierly qualities, and confessed that they had been egregiously deceived in his character. Their testimony, however, could not allay the jealousy which was cherished by the partizans of Shirley against the conqueror of Dieskau; and hence the rancor which pursued him through a portion of his life. I have read carefully all of the Baronet's correspondence extant, consisting of upward of five thousand letters — many of them written to his most intimate friends — and can find nothing to warrant the above allegations. In none of these letters does he speak of the honors of which he was the recipient.¹ Although compelled, in the exercise of his department, to take a prominent part, and to see that his commands were obeyed, yet, in private life, he was unostentatious and even retiring; and at home — where, if in any place, the true character of a man will appear — he placed himself in the back ground, causing his guests and dependents to feel that *they* were the persons conferring the obligation.

The charge of coarseness is equally unjust. His early

¹ I do not allude here to his *official* letters, which from necessity must savor somewhat of egotism.

opportunities for self-improvement, it is true, were few. CHAP.
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1774. His life was spent apart from civilized society and scholastic culture; and his exterior, perhaps, at times exhibited some of the roughness characteristic of the frontier. Still, coarseness — when it exists — is inherent, and is frequently found under the garb of polished manners and courtly address. Many acts of kindness, evincing a high native delicacy — noted down, by way of memoranda, in his private diary, designed for no eye but his own — show a fineness of organization incompatible with a coarse mind. I do not write in the spirit of eulogy. The office of the historian and biographer is to state facts, and draw inferences after a careful sifting of the evidence. Faults, Sir William undoubtedly had, but they were faults incident to a border life. Moreover, a century ago, a certain laxity of personal morals was *fashionable* in Europe, and the American colonies were by no means slow in copying the old world; and many things were tolerated in society then, which would not be at the present day.

In temperament, Sir William was genial. The importance of preserving the health of the body by a cheerful frame of mind was by him fully appreciated. His practice of seeking relaxation in the pleasures of angling at Castle Cumberland, on the banks of the Sacandaga, has been already alluded to. Once every year he invited the warriors of the Six Nations down to the Hall, where a tournament of Indian games would be held for several days. Having himself a fondness for athletic exercises, he took special pains to introduce among his tenantry all the old English field sports. He was, also, in the habit of appointing "sport-days" at Johnstown, at which the yeomanry from the neighboring country, contended in deeds of personal prowess for the prizes of the victors. On such occasions, boxing and foot-racing were the most common. The Baronet had, also, a keen sense of the ludicrous. The exercises would frequently be varied by races on horseback — the riders seated with their faces toward the

CHAP. horses' tails. Young men, almost naked, chased guinea
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1774. } pigs whose tails were shaved and greased—those who
were able to catch the pigs by the tail and hold them,
winning the prize. Others ran races, with their feet tied
up in bags; and again, matches would be made up between
those who could sing the worst song, or contort their faces
into the most hideous expressions—the victors in these
encounters receiving a bear-skin jacket, or a few pounds
of snuff and tobacco.

With a view of creating a generous rivalry among the
farming community, and thus developing the resources of
the country, fairs were annually held at Johnstown, under
his own immediate supervision. On such occasions, the
live stock and produce brought in by the farmers would
be carefully inspected by a competent committee; and
those who raised the best cattle, or grew the most upon
the acre, would be liberally rewarded out of the Baronet's
private purse.

Sir William, also, had a lively sense of injustice; and
nothing seemed to rouse him more than any act of oppres-
sion coming within his knowledge. Although, by virtue
of being a member of the council, he was a civil magis-
trate, yet, waiving the slow forms of the law, he would
frequently take the matter into his own hands. The fol-
lowing anecdote, illustrating his summary manner of cor-
recting wrong, is in point: One of his tenants—Daniel
Rushel by name—struck and otherwise abused his aged
father. This fact becoming known to the Baronet, he
sent for the man, and inviting him into his private office,
in the course of conversation, remarked, "How is your
father, the old man? I have heard that he is troublesome.
If such is the case, I don't know as you could do better
than to chastise him a little." "I have done it," was the
reply. Sir William immediately locked the door, put the
1772. key in his pocket, took down a horsewhip from the wall,
and gave the man a sound whipping. Then opening the

door, he said, "Go home, you villain, and flog your father again!"

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The Christianizing of the Indians—as before observed—seems to have been ever uppermost in his mind. My object in once more adverting to this, is to keep before the reader the fact, that amid all his personal and political cares, the welfare of the Indians was never lost sight of. Indeed, his correspondence upon this subject is so voluminous, that without frequent reference to that which formed a large portion of his thoughts, the history of the man would not be complete. There is scarcely a letter of his to the board of trade which does not urge the importance of converting the Indians, as well upon religious as on political grounds. Nor can it be alleged that he was actuated merely by a desire to make proselytes for the Anglican church. The contrary is shown by his numerous letters to Dr. Wheelock and other dissenting divines; and also by the cordial support which he ever gave to missionaries of whatever protestant sect, who were willing to labor in the Indian field. It is not contended that his zeal sprung from those higher and purer principles which actuate the true disciple of Christ, for a Christian in its strict evangelical sense he was not: but that he earnestly desired a higher toned civilization for the red man, from motives of pure benevolence, cannot be doubted.

By the death of Sir William Johnson, the indigent and unfortunate lost a kind friend and benefactor. His acts of kindness to his tenantry were numerous; his attention to their interests and welfare was unremitting; and many there were, both in Ireland and America, who experienced daily his private bounty. In his family he was a kind and fond father; and to his parents, while they lived, he was an affectionate and dutiful son. "By his death," said the address of the field officers of the militia to Sir John, "the poor and indigent have lost their munificent benefactor; and most sincerely do we sympathize with those whose merit attracted his notice even amid the frowns of

CHAP. ^{XX.} adversity.”¹ “I left the Hall last evening,” wrote Peter
Van Schaack to his brother Henry, a few days after the
1774. Baronet’s decease, “where everything wears the face of
sorrow for the irreparable loss of that great and good man,
Sir William Johnson,—a loss at once to the public, and a
numerous train of the indigent and unfortunate, who
derived support from his unequalled benevolence and gen-
erosity. My jaunt up to Johnstown has given me an
opportunity of seeing so many instances of his goodness;
the settlement there compared with what it was a few
years ago, so abundantly shows his greatness of mind, and
the extensiveness of his views, where a little world has, as
it were, been formed by his hand, that I own I consider
him as THE GREATEST CHARACTER OF THE AGE.”

¹ For this address see appendix No. xi.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

“FORT JOHNSON, 13th Jan., 1758.

“At a meeting of some of the Mohawk chiefs of the lower town.

“Present.

“Sir Wm. Johnson Bart.

“George Croghan Esq.

“Capt. Thomas Butler.

“Lieut. Claus Dep. Sec’y.

“Mr. Arent Stevens,

“Captain Montour,

Interpreters.

“ABRAHAM, *Speaker*.

“Brother Warra:

“We come here to lay our case before you, which, as it seems at present, is very precarious; listen, Brother, and we will relate you our unlucky accident which happened in our town yesterday evening.

“One of our young men who has been these many weeks past from home, returning yesterday found that since his leaving home, an other party of men were posted in the garrison. In order, therefore, to pay a visit to the commanding officer, and bid him welcome to his garrison, (not knowing that the sentries were ordered to stop any Indian from entering the fort) he came up to the gate, and to his great surprise, as quite uncustomary heretofore, was repulsed by the sentry, and after offering the second time to go in, was pushed to the ground with the butt of the gun. Upon which, seeing himself thus unfriendly used, he returned to his house, and going along one of the block houses, they emptied the chamber pot upon him¹ and shrew him with snow balls: standing,

¹ In reading of this outrage, one is reminded of a similar adventure of Socrates, related in the *Wife of Bath's Tale*.

a little after, under the door of his house, he saw two soldiers coming towards the Indian town, and considering his ill treatment a little before, went to the gate of the Indian fort, and attempted to stop the soldiers; giving them to understand, that as they would not let him enter their fort, he was unwilling they should come among the Indians, but he was soon pushed back; and one of the soldiers took up a piece of wood, and knocked him to the ground leaving four wounds in his head. Upon which a French prisoner, who lives in our town, tried to take up the wounded man, but was prevented by the soldiers, and obliged to run for his life to a white man's house just by there, and they followed him, and would have given him some cuts had he not pushed the door after him and kept the door shut.

"Some of our young men seeing all this, immediately ran to meet us, (as we were not yet come home from the meeting at your house), and finding us at John Wemps, where we stopped a little, told us that there was fighting and quarreling among the soldiers and Indians; we hastened home, and I driving up towards my stable, in order to take my horses out of the sleigh and put them up, in the first place found four soldiers in the stable, and upon asking them what they were doing there, and desiring [them?] to leave the stable that I might put up my horses, they immediately struck me with their fists; on which I got hold of him that struck me first and brought him on the ground, holding him some time to prevent his striking me again, when the rest got hold of me, tossed me about, and had like to choke me; tore my wampum and silver medal from my neck, which they have either kept or thrown away, as I can't find it in the place we struggled. During the time of this, two other Indians hearing the noise, came to see what the matter was, when the soldiers were calling for help to the fort, as I found afterwards by a number of soldiers coming with drawn cutlasses, and pursued the two young Indians who were unarmed, and one of them ran to his house, and by a good strong door which he pushed after him saved himself, although many cuts were made into the door to split it. The other Indian ran likewise to his house, but he had not time to shut the door, when the soldiers rushed into the house, fell on cutting him and gave him three wounds in his body, two in his head, and a stab in his breast, which proves very dangerous. His sister being in the house at the same time, cried out murder, when one of the soldiers struck at her and cut her in two places

under her arm; and her having a blanket about her saved her from being killed. At last an officer or a sergeant came from the fort to prevent their doing more mischief, but the soldiers were in such a rage that he was obliged to draw his sword among them and actually cut one of them in the arm; which, Brother, we mention to you for this reason, that upon enquiry into the affair we mayn't be charged with having wounded him, for we assure you, we had no weapon in our hands during the whole fray, nor intended at all to quarrel.

"Yesterday morning, also, when two of our women wanted to cross the river in a canoe that belongs to us, and being ready to push from the shore, they were pulled out the canoe by the hair of their head, by two of the soldiers, and the canoe taken from them. And not long ago an old woman, wife to one of our sachems, coming along the road with a load of wood on her back, was attacked by the soldiers, who wanted to ravish her, but defending herself with her axe, she prevented their design.

"This, Brother, is now the true state of our complaint, and we assure you we have told you nothing but what is really fact; we could give you more instances for the ill usage and behavior of the soldiers towards us, but will for the present, pass it with silence.

Gave a string of wampum.

"*Brother*: If you take this our case into consideration, you must be convinced that it is very hard. We, who expected to be beloved by these people as brethren, to be protected and defended by them, to be treated in such a manner! We assure you, Brother, it is a shocking accident to us, and pierces our hearts. (N. B. The speaker showed tears in his eyes at uttering these words.) We hope, Brother, we have given convincing proofs during our friendship and acquaintance with the English, and last war as well as this, that we have taken your case to be ours, shared the same fate with you, and still are resolved to continue so to our last; and now to see ourselves thus rewarded for our love and fidelity towards the English! There have been many garrisons among us, but we never were so ill used as by the present; it appears by their actions as if they wanted to pick a quarrel with us at any rate. Now and then, when a drunken Indian was troublesome to the officers heretofore, and the sachems found it out, they always took care immediately to make up and settle it between them.

"*Brother*: If the affair happened in the garrison, we would not think so bad of it, but to see ourselves in danger of our lives in

our own doors from people who pretend to be friends and brothers is very bad and not to be borne with. Wherefore, Brother, we most earnestly entreat you to represent our case to the general, and if he has any love or regard for us, he will remove this garrison, and thereby restore peace among ourselves and prevent farther accident.”²

²This speech has been copied entire from the manuscript journal of Sir Wm. Johnson, referred to in the text.

No. 2.

“Orders and Instructions for Lieut. Col. Farquhar of the 44th Regiment. Niagara, Aug. 2d, 1759.

1st, “You will see that those employed in repairing the fortifications, in putting the artillery and stores in proper order, in repairing or building vessels, and fitting up barracks, have all manner of assistance and be kept diligent at their several works—As Mr. Dimpler has directions about erecting a battery for two 18 pounders near the water side, you will give him assistance as soon as you can—As the general in chief is very desirous that vessels should be built with all expedition, and as more timber will be wanted, you will send out for it occasionally, taking care to send a strong escort, at different houses, and places.

“2d, As this fort is ordered by Major General Amherst to be garrisoned by part of Brigadier General Stanwix’s army, you will, on being relieved by them, embark the present garrison, and join the army at Oswego, leaving with the officer that succeeds you in the command, all instructions you may have received, and what information you can furnish him with for the service. Should the garrison sent by General Stanwix not be sufficient, according as circumstances may appear to you, you will leave a detachment of the forty-fourth regiment, equal to what the service may require. Some of the French officers and private men prisoners, not being now in condition to be removed, you will take all possible care of them, and when recovered, send them by the safest conveyance to Oswego, The guard over them will be careful not to allow any Indian, or suspected person, to have any communication with them upon any pretence whatever. The officers who are able to move about to have the liberty of the parade.

“3d, As soon as the army is embarked, you will shut the gate of the covered way, and not allow any man of the garrison to go out—to prevent stragglers being taken by the enemy—being informed they want to take a prisoner for intelligence.

"4th, As provisions are very difficult to be brought to such a distance, you will see that the commissary takes all possible care, and serves out first, those likely to spoil.

"5th, As it is expected that the Indians in the neighborhood, formerly in the French interest, will now, at least in appearance, be our friends, you will receive them with civility; give them provisions, and assure them that traders will soon arrive to buy their skins more to their advantage than ever the French did. If the Indians should come in large bodies, you will not admit above twenty to come within the fort at a time. Two interpreters are left here under your orders, who you will take care to see civilly treated.

"6th, As you being in possession of this place, greatly distresses the enemy, and is of great importance to his majesty's interest, you will take care that the service is performed with the greatest strictness, as possibly some attempt may be made. Whatever extraordinary may happen, you will send immediate notice of it, directed to the care of the officer commanding at Oswego, with leave to open the letter if you think necessary.

"WM. JOHNSON."

"Orders for Mr. Dimpler.

"You are to stay at Niagara under the orders of Lieut. Col. Farquhar.

"You will, with all possible diligence, repair the fortifications in the best manner; build a battery for two eighteen pounders on the water side as directed. After which, all the buildings and barracks are to be put in good condition for the winter.

"After a strict examination, you will send a list of what things are necessarily wanted to put the post in a good condition of defence, and comfortable for the troops during the winter; this to be countersigned by the commanding officer, who is directed to give you what assistance you may want.

"WM. JOHNSON."

"Orders for Captain Walton.

"You will, without any loss of time, put all the artillery and stores in proper order, and place them to the best advantage. And as soon as it can be done with exactness, send a return of whatever may be wanted in your department to put this place in a good condition of defence. This to be countersigned by the commanding officer, who will give you assistance as you may have occasion for it.

"WILLIAM JOHNSON."

No. III.

Private Manuscript Diary, Kept by Sir William Johnson at Niagara and Oswego, 1759.

"The garrison of Niagara surrendered July 25th at 7 in the morning. The number of which consisted of 607 men and 11 officers, besides a number of women, children, &c. The former to be sent to England by the way of New York, and escorted to Oswego by a detachment of the 46th, consisting of 300, the latter to the 1st French post with one Priest.

"Officers' Names in Garrison.

"Chevalier Pouchot, captain of the regiment; De Bearn Condé Vilar, captain of the regiment. La Saire Servier, captain of the Royal Rouissilon; Chevalier De La Roche Veinay, captain of marines; Bouraffons, commanding officer of artillery; Consnoyer, lieut. of a detachment of marines; Soluignag, officer of the regm't of Bearn; Le Chevalier De Larminae, lieutenant of marines; Joncair, captain of marines.

"Chabear Joncair.

"Morambert, Lieut., De Guyendre, Chirurgeon, left to take care of the sick.

"*July 26th*; They embarked, after grounding their arms, and proceeded to Oswego.

"List of the officers, and cadets, taken in the action of July 24th, the whole consisted of 30 officers, of which three only escaped, the following were taken prisoners, and the rest killed, viz:

"Aubrey, }
"De Ligneris, } Comdts.

"Chevalier De Villier, }
"Montaigny, }
"Chevalier Desponligney, }
"Mr. Marin, } Captains.
"Mr. Gamelin, Captain of Militia.

"La Chauiregre, }
"La Noye, }
"La Moelle, }
"Baitlent, }
"Mortisanbert, }
"Derius, }
"Feran, } Lieutenants.

"Dequindre, Col. }
"La Motte Domeille, Major, } Militia officers.

" Defilete, " Deligneris, " Sonmandre, " Barroiz,	}	Cadets.
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" Mr. Duclos a la garde.

" Boiford, Chirurgion major with their attendants.¹

" 27th; I divided among the several nations, the prisoners and scalps amounting to two hundred and forty-six, of which ninety-six were prisoners. The officers I with difficulty released from them, by ransom, good words, &c.²

" 28th; The greatest part of all the nations set off in boats with a deal of plunder for their several countries.

" *Do. Dic.* Buried Brigadier General Prideaux in the chapel, and Colonel Johnson with a great deal of form. I was chief mourner. The evening of the 27th, I sent 3 whale boats with a party of above 30 men to reconnoitre Fort Toronto, and on their return, propose to send to destroy it.

" Colonel Haldimand arrived here with Captain Williamette from Oswego, to claim the command, which I refused giving up, as my commission gave me rank of him. He gave up the point, until General Amherst's pleasure was known, which may be soon, as Col. Haldimand, on receipt of my letter, wrote him upon it.

" In order to secure this important post to his majesty, it is necessary to leave for the present a garrison of 700 men, who are also to repair the works, which have been hurt by our cannon, and put the fort in the best posture of defence they can, with the assistance of an engineer, who is to be left here for that purpose.

" To have the two vessels fitted out, armed, and manned to escort the battoes with the remainder of the army to Oswego; also endeavor to take the French schooner.

" Artillery and ammunition to leave here, and have Captain Stretchy's opinion in writing thereupon—also some artillery men and gunners.

" The French officers and other prisoners to take with me to Oswego, and send them to York in order to be sent to England.

" To write Governor De Lancey to send all the French prisoners to England as soon as possible.

¹ Johnson probably took the names down by sound.

² Referring to the prisoners taken in the action of the 24th.

"5 days' provisions for the troops' journey to Oswego, and to get a return of the remainder.

"Ammunition to carry with me to Oswego, and some artillery — also working tools — good ship carpenters to send for immediately to New York; and everything necessary for building and completing two vessels of force, without which we cannot maintain the two posts of Oswego and Niagara, particularly the latter; also rigging for two other smaller vessels already built; about forty or fifty good house carpenters to be immediately sent up to make a fort at Oswego, and repair Niagara.

"To write the secretary of state and send him a plan of Niagara; also, give him an idea of the consequence of it to his majesty's Indian interest; the extension of the free trade, and, above all, its cutting off the communication between Canada and Louisiana.

"To send Governor De Lancey a copy of the plan of the fort as soon as I can, in order to have it printed, or plates of it published for the benefit of the public.

"To write to, and settle with the general how far my limits extend, for taking care of or managing Indian affairs, that I may regulate my passes and Indian trade.

"29th, I gave the French officers shoes, stockings, and blankets I wrote by De Normandy to Oswego for all the ship carpenters to come here, to build 2 vessels of 18 guns each, and to bring all the naval stores, and as much provision, as they can, along as soon as may be; the house carpenters then to repair the battoes and make a number of oars, paddles, &c., against I get there; a detachment from the York regiment to come with the convoy. *Do.* I wrote a letter to the secretary of state with a short account of the siege of Niagara; also sent him a plan of the fort, and a return of the killed and wounded in the siege and action of the 24th July — being 60 killed and 180 wounded, besides — 3 Indians killed and 5 wounded — 63 killed, 185 wounded.

"30th, At night Lieutenant Francis returned from Toronto, and reported that the enemy had burned and abandoned that post, and destroyed many things which they could not take along, viz: working utensils, arms, &c. A Chippaway chief came to me with Mr. Francis in order to speak with me.

"31st. I settled the garrison to be left here, and gave orders accordingly; also the train engineer, artificers, ammunition and pro-

vision. Also ordered the building of two good armed vessels at this place to carry 16 or 18 guns each.

"*Do Die*. I wrote a letter to General Amherst with a plan of the fort, a list of the killed and wounded, also a return of the effectives now here, and a list of artillery stores wanted for Niagara, given by Captain Stretchy. With which I sent Captain John Butler express and 7 of my batteau men with him.

"*August 1st, 1759*. I went to see Niagara Falls with Colonel Haldimand, Mr. Ogilvie, and several officers, escorted by three companies of the light infantry. Arrived there about 11 o'clock; in my way at the thither end of the carrying place, I met a flag of truce from Presque Isle, desiring to know the number of officers I had in my hands, from the action of the 24th, and begging I would advance them anything they might want, they being men of fortune and credit. One letter was from the commandant of Presque Isle named Chevalier Poitneuf, the other from Mons. De Couagne, who came with the flag of truce, with 9 men and Indians. I ordered them to stay in the woods, and left Mr. Rogers with a guard with him, until I sent a message to them and provisions. The artillery was this day partly shipped on board the batteaus, the readier to be shipped to-morrow, with ammunition, &c.

"*22d*. I wrote a letter to the Chevalier — by the flag of truce, and sent Captain Mc Leon with a party to escort them to their boats. This day I ordered all the boats, &c., to be made ready for embarking the troops, &c., which are to go to Oswego, in order to leave this on the morrow. Spoke to the Chippaway sachem, Tequakareigh. With a string and two belts of wampum, I bid him welcome and shook him by the hand. By the 2d, which was a black belt, I took the hatchet out of the hands of his, and all the surrounding nations; recommended hunting and trade to them, which would be more for their interest than quarreling with the English, who have ever been their friends, and supplied them at the cheapest rates with the necessaries of life, and would do it again, both here and at Oswego, provided they quit the French interest. This I desired he would acquaint all the surrounding nations with. A black belt, the third and last, was to invite his, and all other nations living near them, to repair early next spring to this place and Oswego, when there should be a large assortment of all kinds of goods fit for their use; also recommended it to them to send some of their young men here to hunt and fish for the garrison, for which they would be paid, and

kindly treated. Told them at the same time, that I would send some of my interpreters, &c., with him on the lake to the next town of the Mississageys, with whom I desired he would use his best endeavors to convince them that it would be their interest to live in friendship with the English, and that we had no ill intentions against them, if they did not oblige us to it. To which he answered, and said it gave him great pleasure to hear so good words, and was certain it would be extremely agreeable to all the nations with whom he was acquainted, who, with his, were wheedled and led on to strike the English, which he now confessed he was sorry for, and assured me they never would again, and that should the French, according to custom, ask them to do so any more, they would turn them out of the country. He, at the same time, begged earnestly that a plenty of goods might be brought here and to Oswego, and there, they, as well as all the other nations around, would come and trade; and their young men should hunt for their brothers whom they now took fast hold of by the hand, and called upon the Six Nations, who were present, to bear witness to what he had promised. He also desired I would send some person to the Mississagay town, near where Toronto stood, to hear what he should say to that nation, and to see that he would deliver my belts and message honestly. I clothed him very well, and gave him a handsome present to carry home. Then took from about his neck a large French medal; gave him an English one, and a gorget of silver, desiring whenever he looked at them, he would remember the engagements he now made.

This day I agreed with Mr. De Couagne to serve at Niagara as interpreter, until relieved, at the rate of £12 per month. Colonel Haldimand, with Captain Williamore, set off for Oswego with 2 whale boats. I desired him, on his arrival there, to send away the French women to La Galette immediately, with a good officer, capable to make remarks and draw the situation of that part of the country, so that I may know what to do in case it should be thought proper to attempt anything that way. Also have boats ready against I arrive at Oswego, to send the French officers in for New York.

“3d. I gave Lieut. Nellus and De Couagne orders to go over the lake with the Chippaway chief, and call the Missessagays, and speak with the commanding officer of Niagara and Oswego; also to trade with and hunt for their brethren the English. They, the interpre-

ters, are to remain at Niagara, until farther orders, and assist the commanding officer here all in their power.

This day I ordered some guns for the vessel and carriages, so as to be ready to-morrow morning to sail for Oswego with me. I sent a string of wampum by three Chenusios to their nation, telling them now my surprise at their going away from hence in so a——¹ manner, not allowing me a meeting where I intended to have said something to them, and the rest of the nations—3 strings wampum. I sent them a white belt to thank them for the good salve they gave me for my wounds, meaning Niagara, and to desire they would continue to have a careful eye over it, and not suffer any nation to insult, or hurt it.

“*Saturday August 4th.*—I was to embark at 5 o'clock in the morning with the troops, &c., for Oswego, but the two French schooners appearing off harbor prevented our embarkation until 5 in the evening, when I left Colonel Farquhar everything in charge; also some Indian goods to give occasionally to such Indians as might come upon business to him. Then set off with all the Yorkers except one company; all the light Infantry, and grenadiers, and the general's company of the 44th regiment, and arrived at Oswego, Tuesday, about 3 o'clock P. M., with everything safe.

“*Wednesday 8th.*—Enquired into the state of the provisions, and everything else, and find provisions so short, and slowly sent up, that I fear those two posts on the lake will suffer greatly, unless other measures are taken to supply them, than hitherto has been. I sent away Ensign Brown D. I. M. to Fort Stanwix, also Major Hogan, in order to hurry up the bateaux with provisions. Also sent from hence this day 21 French officers with a captain, 2 subalterns, and sixty men, as a guard to Fort Stanwix. I also sent away to Fort Stanwix all sick and wounded, as were judged by the doctor unfit for service, or likely to continue so during the campaign, to prevent the consumption of provisions.

“*9th.*—I was regulating the camp and works.

“*10th.*—Getting returns of the state of everything belonging to the army, and writing to General Amherst, Governor De Lancey, &c. *Do Die*; Some Mohawks, Onondagas, &c., arrived here from Niagara.

“*11th.*—I dispatched an express, one——to Albany, with letters to the general and others. Also sent to Captain Jn. Butler to come up with what number of Mohawks, and others he could, imme-

¹ Illegible in the manuscript.

diately. At the same time, I sent Captain Fonda, Lieutenant Hair, an interpreter, and others, to Onondaga, to call the young men of that nation here, to go upon service. I sent a black belt of wampum by him to speak with, and to send it to the other nations from thence. In the afternoon Captain De Fere arrived with part of the escort, went to the French garrison, and brought some provisions with them.

"12th.—In the morning, the little schooner arrived here from Niagara with Captain De Normandy, and brought me a letter from Lieutenant Colonel Farquhar, commanding officer there. It rained very hard, which stopped the workmen. Very windy also.

"In the afternoon I went to the woods, where the party were at work cutting and drawing timber, also building a small redoubt to cover the working parties—cut vistas through the woods, also, for the same purpose.

"Monday 13th.—Very stormy in the morning. Had the schooner loaded notwithstanding, with the rigging, &c., belonging to our vessel, and fifty barrels of provisions. I wrote Colonel Farquhar by her, and employed Mr. Thody to go, and bring the new schooner down to this place. Gave orders to seize all sutler's rum, and put it in the king's store. Sent an order to the officer commanding at the falls, not to suffer any bateaux, &c., to pass with sutlers, or others, without they take the opportunity of an escort.

"Tuesday 14th.—Sent an order to the Oneida Lake post, to keep 50 of the Provincials, who were a guard to the French garrison, to remain there, in the room of 50 sailors there, who are to come here in order to navigate the vessels. I sent Lieutenant Francis with 60 men and 2 Indians, in 3 bateaux, to Irondequat and the Seneca river, in order to pick up, and bring along with him, all the whale boats, and bateaux he may find there, or along the lake, with 10 days' provisions. Two Yorkers just now arrived here from the royal galley, and say that on seeing our schooner, the master and all the crew run ashore, and left her at anchor, about 8 miles this side of Sodus. They have seen nothing of the remainder of the crew since. I ordered them to the guard, until the affair is cleared up. ——— 8 at night; 3 more of her crew arrived, and reported her taken by the enemy, and her masts, rigging, and anchor cut away.

"Wednesday 13th.—Early in the morning more of her crew arrived, and the galley, also, brought in by some of Dr. Normandy's crew, with a letter from him. This day I sent some Onondagas to Swegatchie as spies; and on their return, they are to bring me a

prisoner if possible, for which they are to have 100 dollars; they are to be back in 5 or 6 days.

“ *Wednesday 15th.*—Works carrying on as usual. Block houses building in the wood, and vistas cutting to the lake, and a battery, to prevent the enemy’s annoying our working parties.

“ *Thursday 16th.*—Brigadier General Gage arrived here in the afternoon with 300 drafts for the 3 regiments here. I gave up the command to him, and General Amherst’s instructions to the late Brigadier Prideaux, also his last letter to Do., which I received on my way from Niagara. He then showed me a letter or two he received from General Amherst, with orders to proceed to this place, and take the command. Also to proceed to Niagara, if not yet taken. If taken and the troops returned, then to proceed to La Galette and take post there, which (in case General Wolfe should be defeated) would make a frontier, with Niagara, Oswego, and Crown Point. He told me that on reading General Amherst’s letter, he gave him as his opinion, that he thought it impracticable to establish a post there in so short a time, and furnish it with provisions. General Gage brought up about 140 barrels of provisions, only, with this reinforcement. We have now about 3 weeks’ provisions here for the whole—the New Hampshire regiment coming by land with cattle.

“ *Friday 17th.*—Fine weather. General Gage agreed to the plan of the fort proposed by Engineer Lowers, viz: a pentagon. Accordingly, they set about it, and marked out the ground. This day I made up an affair between Colonel Massey and Captain Forbes, which, otherwise, was to be tried by a general court martial. The drafts were this day divided among the 3 regiments here.

“ *Saturday 18th.*—A fine morning. Colonel Haldimand came to my tent, and on our talking over several matters, among other things, I asked him whether the general had said anything to him about advancing to Swegatchy. He answered, that the general had showed him all his instructions, but said nothing about going to La Galette, on which I gave him my opinion that our going to La Galette and destroying it was practicable, and might favor General Amherst’s designs, but to remain there was impossible on account of provisions, and being too late to make such a respectable work there, as the French would not be able to take. He expressed himself against attempting it, for the above reasons, and further, that the enemy might carry on an expedition

against it in the winter, adding, also, that if one of our convoys should be cut off, it would ruin the whole, and oblige us to abandon even this post, &c.——General Gage expressed himself the same way, and added, farther, that his honor was as dear to him as General Amherst's could be to him, and did not understand running his head against a wall, or attempting impossibilities, with a great deal more to that purpose, and what I thought not unreasonable, after telling me the state of everything, particularly artillery, ammunition and provision. I told General Gage that I thought our going to and destroying La Galette practicable, but not to take post there, for the several reasons given to Lieutenant Colonel Haldimand, the same day. The general then said he would get a few stray boats built to carry each a piece of large cannon in the bow, to guard against the French vessels, and would then make a trial.——I asked him then, whether he would have me send for the several nations of Indians to come immediately and join us, to which he made no answer.

“Sunday August 19th.—Fine weather. Lieutenant Francis, with his party, returned with several whale boats &c., from Irondequat. Also came in this day, some Onondagas, and Chenusios, who told me they were sent to let me know that several sachems and others were coming to Oswego to meet me, also two sachems of the Mississagues, and would be here in four or five days; that they had a great many furs and skins to trade, and hoped there would be plenty of goods for that purpose. I represented to General Gage, the necessity of having traders come up here, and to Niagara, for that end. He told me to act in that as I thought best for the service, and to give papers to such as I thought desired them.

“Monday 20th.—Cloudy weather. I gave General Gage a rough draft of the River St. Lawrence from Frontinac to the island below La Galette, drawn by the Red Head, an Ondaga Indian. Dined with General Gage, after which we took a walk, and talked together about going down to La Galette—to which he agreed, as soon as artillery, vessels, &c., could be got ready. Mr. Brown arrived from Fort Stanwix with 24 bateaux with provisions, and rum &c.

“Tuesday 21st.—Very stormy, and rained all night—continued stormy all day. I wrote a letter to my brother by Lieutenant Linall of the Highland regiment; another to Kelly, Corry, Date, Wallace, and my daughter Nancy. Sent another to Molly, by Hance Clermont, not to come here.

“Wednesday 22d.—Very stormy, and rain. Lieutenant Linall came for my letters, and set off for army with General Amherst by whom I sent word I should have as many Indians, as necessary. Provisions being scarce, I cannot collect a great number. Major Graham arrived about 2 o'clock, with 2 of the Highlanders. About 6 in the evening the schooner arrived from Niagara. When she left, the evening before, all well there. By letters from thence, I learn that the Mississagays came there on my invitation, and have made peace with us, as by Colonel Farquahar's letter, and Lieutenant Neller's will appear, which letters must be entered in the Indian Records. Captain Fonda returned from Onondaga with the Bunt and others of that nation, and tells me there will be about 100 of that nation here to-morrow. He brought me a letter from Mr. Croghan, dated July 20th, and brought by Tiaquandean, an Onondaga warrior, returning with five prisoners and some scalps from the Catawbas' country.

“Thursday 23d.—Fine weather. The Bunt, chief of Onondaga, with several of his nation, came to my tent. I bid them welcome; told them I was glad to see them, and, as I heard they were not yet all assembled, would defer saying anything upon business, until they arrived, when I would let them know what news I had, and the reason of my sending for them. Then ordered pipes, tobacco, a dram, and some punch, and sent an officer to see them take up their ground for encampment, also to draw provisions, so parted. They soon got drunk, and were very troublesome.—This day my express returned after delivering his letters at Albany, and brought a packet from General Amherst, for Brigadier Gage and me. His to me was dated the 6th at Crown Point, very kind and polite, and pressing me to get as many Indians as I can to join General Gage on another enterprise. Received also a letter from Dirk Vanderhuyden of London, by which he appears in my debt £144.4.7. sterling for ginseng of mine which lay in his hands a long time, and now sold at 3s, & 3-3 ptt.

“Friday 24th.—Fine morning. I propose this day speaking to the Indians.—All drunk, could not meet them. Major Christie arrived about 12 o'clock from Crown Point in 10 days. Brought me a letter from General Amherst, and another from Colonel Byre. General Gage shewed me his letter from the general—also all his to him, to Mr. Kilby, Country, &c., in all, settling the state of the army. Provisions, artillery, boats, and tools, which, when ready,

he would lose no time in following his orders. Major Christie told me he had heard at Canajoharie that Captain Butler was passed there on his way hither, so that I soon expect him with the Indians. The schooner is this day sent to Niagara, for one 18 pounder—2 fourteen pounders, some shot and other things for our expedition, which I fear will delay us.

“*Saturday 25th.*—Fine weather. About 11 o’clock, 3 bateaux, with Senecas, Chenusios, to the amount of 70, arrived from their country, and fired 3 volleys when near our camp, which was returned by the guard of the 14th battalion of royal artillery. I then sent Captain Fonda and an interpreter to show them their ground for encampment, the opposite side of the river, and get them provisions. Thesame time Old Saquerisera, sachem of Onondaga, and his party came to my tent; wished me joy of our success at Niagara, and wished a continuence of it. I thanked them, and told them as soon as it suited them, I should be glad they would all meet, and allow me an opportunity of acquainting them what had passed between the Northern Indians and me, since they parted with me at Niagara—also some other matters which concerned our mutual interest. They promised to give me notice when they were ready, and so parted.

“*Sunday 26th.*—Fine weather. The interpreter Prindup arrived from Onondaga with above fifty warriors, and a number of women and children. Encamped them over the river, and sent them word I would meet them all this afternoon. The interpreter tells me the messenger who was sent with my belt to call the Indians, returned last Wednesday from Cayuga, and reported that a great number of that nation, as well as Senecas, were on their way hither, and would be soon here. They got an ox among them this morning. No news yet from General Wolfe except what was in the prints. This day General Gage desired I would not yet let the Indians know our design of going to La Galette, but endeavor to get a party of them to fetch a prisoner for intelligence, from Cadaraghi first. In the evening I went over and condoled their losses by sickness &c., with three strings of wampum, and told them as it was then late I would meet them next morning at this camp. Two Onondagoes arrived with an account of the enemy’s taking one, Mr. Bean, a sutler, prisoner, and killing his two bateaux men, and destroying his bateaux this side of the Oswego Falls. I acquainted General Gage of it, and advised him to send one hundred of the light infantry in

whale boats to cut off their retreat, and get 50 Indians to go with them. 10 o'clock at night.

“*Monday 27th.*—Still good weather, but windy. About 9 o'clock a party of the Onondaga warriors, with their speaker, came to see me at my tent, where I gave them a dram, pipes, and tobacco, and bid them welcome as customary. They told me they had a number of arms and utensils out of order, which they begged might be mended. I told them our smiths here were much employed, however at times they should mend such things for them as they wanted most, and that as soon as I got home, I would provide a smith to work in their country for them. They then parted, and I went to meet the rest in council. About 12 o'clock, the Onondagas and Senecas met, when the chief of Chenussio returned with three strings of wampum, the compliment of the ceremony of condolence. After which I told them what had passed between me and the chief of the Chippaway Nation at Niagara, as well as what the Mississagay had done in consequence thereof, which gave great satisfaction. I then desired they would let me know what news they had from the Ohio, and other parts; when the Chenusio chief, named Karaghyanaghqui told, as follows; viz: that after the battle of Belle Famille, the Ottawas, and others, then with the enemy, held a council at the Falls, and came to a resolution to go back to Niagara, and speak with the English, and Six Nations, and make peace, but the French would not allow them, on which they, notwithstanding, sent 2 of their people to Chenusio, to know whether they were angry with them for the part they had acted, and to assure them they were much pressed to it by the French. The Senecas reminded them of the friendly messages they had sent them last year to Teughshaghrantie, which they expected they would have regarded. They told them now, that they were not angry, and desired the two Mississagays to return as soon as they could, with said answer. Soon after another of that nation arrived, charged with the same business, to whom the Chenusios returned for answer, that they had delivered what they had to say to the first two messengers, and had not [anything?] to say further, but to recommend a speedy return to them with their answer. They were not gone when these Indians left home. The chief sachem then told me and the Onondagas, that some of their nation, who came from Ohio, told that the French had burned and abandoned Wenanga, [Venango?] Fort La Riviere [de] Boeuf, and Presque Isle, and that the garrisons retired to Detroit.

This they affirmed for truth. The Chenusio chief then spoke with a string of wampum as follows:

"*Brother*: I can now with pleasure acquaint [you] that these Indians, whom you have so often called from the southward, are arrived in our country, and as they have left their plantations, corn-fields, &c., must now suffer for the want of provisions, unless assisted by you this year, and we for their behalf earnestly request you will assist them, as they are now come to incorporate with us—*Gave 3 strings.*" The new vessel hove in sight while we were met, which I told them was called the *Mississagay*. Her size and name pleased them all much. I then told them as it was late, I would meet them the next day, and talk farther to them on other matters—so parted.

"At 7 in the evening, the scout returned from a river, about 20 miles from here, when the Indians found by the tracks, &c., that the party which scalped our people the day before were gone. Mr. De Couagne arrived with the *Mississagay* schooner, and tells me he thinks that that nation, as also the Ottawas, are very sincere in what they have said, and determined to settle a firm alliance and trade with us, if properly managed, and encouraged. This evening rained very hard. General Gage came to my tent and told me he intended to leave about 300¹ men to carry on the works, and carry the rest with him. He ordered the survey of the boats to be continued until all examined.

"*Tuesday 28th.*—Blustering weather. This morning wind at N. W. I sent for the Bunt, speaker of Onondaga, and 2 Seneca chiefs, viz., Karaghyianaghqui and Belt, to whom I repeated what I intended to say to all the nations present, and to those not here, who are to deliver it to-morrow morning, to the whole in my presence at their own camp, and is as follows:

"*29th.*—" *Brethren*: I have received messages from the *Mississagays*, and other nations on the lake, very friendly to us, and you. They, among other things, earnestly desire an extension and plentiful trade may be carried on by us at Niagara, and this place, so that they and all other nations around them, may be supplied with the necessities of life, at as cheap a rate as can be afforded. This is what his majesty has in view; and the building the several forts you see along the country is purely to protect you, and such a trade

¹The figures in the manuscript are indistinct. They are designed either for 300 or 900.

from the insults of our troublesome enemy the French. I, therefore, by this belt of wampum, desire that you will not be uneasy or alarmed at them.

A white belt."

"*Brethren* : I understand there are some of our people who have deserted ; others who are by some means or other come among you, and harbored by you. As it is not right to keep them among you, or detain them, I expect they [will] be all delivered up to me as soon as you conveniently can—and for the future that you do not allow any to come and settle among you, without our consent.

A belt."

"*Brethren* : As you have taken our hatchet and used it successfully this campaign, I must desire you to continue making use of it, as much as is in your power, against your and our common enemy the French ; and that you remain here with his majesty's troops, and be ready to join them in any operations, which may be carried on during the season. This will gain you credit with his majesty and all his subjects your brethren, and with the blessing of God, greatly contribute to put an end to the war ; after which, with the regulations that may be made in trade, you will live peaceably and be a happy people. And this, I strongly recommend to you all by this belt of wampum.

A Belt."

"*Brethren of the Seneca Nation* : I am glad to hear that all those of your people, who were living at Ohio, and dispersed about, are now come to settle among you. It is right to settle in bodies, as by that means, you will be more respectable. You see, brethren, our hands are full at present, putting our new acquisitions into a state of safety, and reëstablishing Oswego as fast as we can, for your interest as well as ours ; so that really we have enough to do, until this hurry is over, to carry up the necessary supply of provisions for the use of the army. Notwithstanding, you may be assured, all assistance in our power will be given at Niagara, and here, to such as are really in distress.

A string of wampum."

"*Thursday 30th.*—The schooner arrived with Captain Walton of the train, and three-pounders, tools, &c. An express from General Amherst came in, by whom I had a letter dated Crown Point, August 21st, an answer to mine of the 9th ; General Gage had also a letter. Some letters and papers mention General Wolfe's having

begun to bombard Quebec, the twelfth of last month; that the French army, under the command of Major Hourlemazbe, were intrenched on an Island six miles from St. Jeans, whither General Amherst was to proceed as soon as a sixteen gun frigate was finished. In the evening, I went over the river to receive the Indians' answer, to what I had said to them the day before. Being met, the Onondaga Speaker arose, and asked the Senecas whether they were ready. The Seneca chief, named Karaghyianaghqui, answered they were, and spoke as follows:—Present, Captains Fonda and Lotteridge; Lieutenants Claus and Hair; Clement and Printop, interpreters.

“Brother Goraghko Warraghiyagey, and you Brethren of the Onondaga Nation: Give attention to what I am now going to say in behalf of the Senecas, and Chenusios. The news which our friend Warraghiyagey told us yesterday from the Mississagays, and other distant nations, and the assurances he gave us of his Majesty's intentions toward us, and all nations who were inclined to live in friendship with him, as well as that the several forts which he was now building in our country, were to cover them from any attempts of the enemy, and protect the trade, which was to be carried on with them at said posts, gave us much satisfaction, as we hope it will to you, and all our allies; being sensible it must prove greatly to our mutual advantage, if carried on in an honest manner, which by this belt, we entreat it may.

Gave a belt.”

“Brother: Your request, concerning such of your people as are among us, shall be complied with, but it will require a little time to collect them, being dispersed among the several villages around us. You may depend upon it, they will be delivered to you at your house, or to the governor of Philadelphia, from whose government, we understand, most of them have been taken by the Delawares, Shawanese, &c. We will (showing the belt) take your belt through the nations and show it to them, and then send it to our brethren of Onondaga, who will doubtless return it to you, with such of their people as they may have.

“Brother: You yesterday strongly recommended to us to persevere, and make good use of the axe you had given us, against the French, as long as the war continued, which you were of opinion could not be very long. We of the Seneca Nation do assure you, brother, that we will assist our brethren the English, while the war lasts; and wish it to end honorably.

Returned the belt.

“Then the Onondaga speaker came to me from his council, and assured me, they would do the same, as well as the Seneca nation. They then asked me, what news we had by the express. I told them the account we had from Quebec, and so ended the meeting. I privately spoke to Bunt, the speaker, and others, to encourage their young men to go upon immediate service. They said they would.

“31st.—Red Head came, and told me he would set off for La Galette on to-morrow, in order to get a prisoner for our intelligence. He and party were fitted out with every necessary, and [I] gave them money to buy fresh provision for a feast as usual. This afternoon, I advised the general to send a flag of truce to La Galette and Frontenac, to enquire for and demand the officers who ran away from the guard at Fort Herkimer. He agreed to it and prepared a letter, and intends to send Lieutenant Baker with it. I sent away this day, a letter to General Amherst. I took a German deserter’s information this day, and read it to the general. This day, constant rain; no work carried on.

“*Saturday the 1st of September.*—Weather pretty good, and moderate. I fitted out a party of eleven Onondagas and Senecas, who are to bring a prisoner from La Galette, if possible, and all the intelligence they can of the enemy’s strength, and the station of the vessels. They are to be back in ten days, if well. I sent a belt of black and white wampum by them to the Swegatchie Indians, and any others they may see, advising them all to go out of our way, and quit the French interest. If they continue obstinate, and will not take my advice, they must blame themselves for the consequence, which I think will be fatal to them, we being determined to carry that place at any rate. I gained all the intelligence I could from the Indians, of the navigation of the River St. Lawrence to La Galette, which I gave the general. About 12 o’clock, Mr. Baker set off for Cadaraghqui in a whale boat, with a letter from General Gage, demanding the officer and two privates of Niagara garrison, who ran away from Fort Herkimer. The sachems of Onondaga came to beg I would stop Red Head’s party, and allow them to send others there with a charge to the Swegatchies, to quit the place immediately. I gave them a very smart reprimand, and told them I would rather go without an Indian, than to have any with me who were not quite hearty. On which they told me, they would all go with me whenever I called upon them. I told them I was so much ashamed of their backwardness in going on a scout, that I had

a good mind to ask the general's liberty to go on that service myself, without a man of them, as it appeared to me, they either were afraid, or unwilling to have that nest destroyed; which made them look very grave. The Seneca sachems, who were attending without, sent me word they had something to say, and would be glad to be heard, on which the others broke up, and they came in. The speaker said he was very sorry at the Five Nations' abrupt manner of parting after the surrender of Niagara, which did not allow me a meeting with them, as they since found by the messages I sent them to their country from Niagara, by some of their own people, I intended. He assured me that due regard would be had, by their nation, to the directions sent them at that time, and that they would keep a good look out so that nothing should hurt the people then, if in their power. We then made an apology, for no more of that nation coming at this time, and said it was owing to the death of the chief of all the warriors, who died the third day after their return, which, according to their custom, puts a stop to every kind of business, until his death is properly condoled. He then returned a black belt of mine, sent them some time ago. *A Belt.* He then said a great deal concerning those, begging that goods might not be sold them too dearly; that they had now with them a parcel of skins and furs, which they wished to get rum and goods for, and not be obliged to carry them back so far. So ended. I then recommended to their young men here present, to exert themselves now, and not return until the end of the campaign. I promised them that they should have their skins, &c., exchanged, and that some traders are gone to Albany for goods, some time ago for that purpose, and daily expected. They returned many thanks and parted.

"*Sept. 2d.*—Fine weather. Two Oneidas and two squaws set off with a white belt from the sachems, for Swegatchie, in order to bring me intelligence, and to call all the Swegatchie Indians from thence immediately. Red Head's party of eleven men, stopped by the sachems, as they think he would only inflame matters.

"*Sept. 3d.*—About 8 o'clock, the sachems of Onondaga and Seneca came to my tent, and told me that the Oneidas or Tuscaroras would not come, as they heard, by some of their people who understand English, from the soldiers at Fort Stanwix, that as soon as all the nations were assembled at Oswego, the English would give them as much liquor as they would drink, then fall upon and destroy them. They, the Oneidas, &c., would wait the event, and in such case be

ready to fall upon the English in their turn. They told me that a great many of the Cayugas were on their way hither, but hunted a little by the road, being a plentiful place of game. They said that a drove of cattle passed their town, and would be here this day. About 12 o'clock, I set off for Little Sodus in a whale boat, with five Indians. Captain Johnson, myself, and two bateau men, to shoot ducks, &c. In the evening, it rained and blew very hard. Got to Sodus about five o'clock; a very pretty shore, and a large bay with a creek running easterly; navigable as far as Captain Lotteridge went, about four miles, for a vessel. Rained all night upon us without covering.

“Sept. 4th.—We all went out to shoot ducks, &c. Returned about 12 with fourteen ducks and one otter, and stopped at all the creeks and ponds by the way, which are many. There is one creek about eight miles from Oswego, which I think would be a better passage than by the Suego [Oswego?] Falls. The Indians told me it was navigable for boats to the head, which was near the Three Rivers. About 6 o'clock we arrived at Oswego, and found nothing new since we left it, only that the news of three of our men being scalped at the Falls was contradicted. The enemy were seen there, but did no harm. The eighteen pounder had been three times fired on board the little gally, which bore it very well.

“Wednesday 5th.—Wind strong at S. East. Last night a Cayuga runner arrived, and told me that an express from his nation had overtaken them about two miles above the Seneca Falls, and reported to them that a young Indian of said nation had, in their absence, killed a daughter of Ottawana, a sachem of Cayuga, which made them all turn back, except the Post; they were eighty-four men in the whole. I this morning acquainted General Gage with it, and told him I thought an express from me would bring them here in six days or thereabouts, and desired to know, whether he would have me send for them. He told me, I should send for them, if they could be got here in that time. I proposed to him the regulation of trade here, and at Niagara, with the Indians, as without some regulation, the trade would be so unjust, that all Indians who felt it, would be dissatisfied, and spread it among all nations, which would greatly hurt his majesty's Indian interest, and be the means of unsettling all that had been done by us for the promotion of it. In the evening the Seneca and Onondaga sachems came to my tent, and proposed sending to-morrow some of their people to Cayuga,

and wished some of ours to accompany them, in order to condole the loss of Ottawana's daughter, killed by one of their nation three days ago. I told them it was what I intended to do, and was to have proposed it to them, had they not been before hand. I told them I would prepare the belts and people against morning, and desired they would prepare theirs;—So ended.

“Thursday 6th.—The weather a little better, and the wind a little abated; at which I sent Captain Lotteridge, Lieutenant Hair, the Red Head, and a Cayuga Indian, to condole the loss of a woman killed at Cayuga, by one of their own people, and to bring all the warriors with them. They are to be here in six days. I have also sent to the several traders for their services, in order to settle the prices of goods, rum, skins, beavers, &c., so that the Indians may not be imposed upon. Tiyaquande, an Onondaga chief, set off this day with his family for his castle, and is to return with the Cayugas in six days, with all his people. I sent two belts of wampum, and a string by the Red Head to Cayuga—This afternoon I had a long discourse with Brigadier Gage, when I told him my sentiments very ingenuously, regarding the present expedition intended. He also spoke his mind freely, and said that General Amherst had missed the opportunity of favoring General Wolfe, and that unless General Amherst pushed for the whole country of Canada, which he thought now too late, an expedition this way would be of no service. Farther, that he thought this little army had done more than his, and if they could finish a fort here this season, supply this and Niagara with sufficient provisions, they would carry a very great point.

“Friday 7th.—A fine morning, but a little wind. Lieutenant Beckers arrived about 12 o'clock last night, and says the enemy abandoned Cadaraghqui the 29th of August; also the advanced post which they had on the island. He says he saw some boats with a few Indians crossing the lake, and one going to Swegatchie. The two French schooners lie near one of the islands about thirty miles from hence.—About 12 o'clock, the general called some officers who understood something of the sea-faring business, and consulted with them how to take the French vessels. In consequence thereof, an order was given for an attempt of the kind to be made by two hundred volunteers from the several corps, under the command of Captain Parker. They are to endeavor to board them by surprise, by landing in the night on the island close by them.

This afternoon, Captain Butler arrived here with twenty-four Mohawks, and Canajoharies. He left home on receipt of my letter, which he got the 16th ult. Was very ill treated at the Upper Oneida town by Canaghquiesa, and in short by the whole three, but kindly received by Gawche and those at the lake, who promised that thirty of them would follow and join me at Oswego. This evening, the Senecas and Onondagas met at my tent, and spoke with two belts and a string of wampum, as follows: The first, was a black belt I gave them some time ago, to unite them and strengthen our alliance with them, which they now only produced to show me it was fresh in their memory, and to assure me that it had full effect with the Confederacy,—as they had since shown by their actions, and were firmly resolved to continue our friends. The second, was three strings of wampum complaining of the dearness of our goods, and earnestly desiring they might have fairer dealing; otherwise, it would alter the present good dispositions of all the Confederacy and their allies, who expected a more advantageous trade might be carried on with us, than with the French; which above all things would bring those nations over to us and attach the whole to his majesty's interest—*Gave three strings.* The last and third was a white belt, charging me with being too hasty and inconsiderate in thinking of another expedition before I had returned home, and considered what was next best to be done, and consulted with them, adding that if I now proceeded and should fail, the whole Confederacy would be overset. They, therefore, in the strongest manner, laid hold of me, and insisted on my staying at home. If I did not comply, all their nations would think ill of it, and give them great uneasiness.—I told them I would on to-morrow answer as to the several matters they had now spoken about.—Very wet afternoon, prevented the scout going out. Rained very hard all night.

“Saturday 8th, A very windy, wet morning; prevented the party's going after the French vessels, and the men's working until afternoon.

“Sunday 9th, Morning wet until eight o'clock; the party, under command of Captain Parker, embarked. Two hundred and fifty rank and file, and Silver Heels with them; also five Mohawks and Printop's son by themselves. About two o'clock, arrived a man, with some letters which were dropped by the post, and found by a Mohawk. In the evening, the post arrived, who was thought to

have been scalped, with letters. I had one from Governor De Lancey, and others. No news from General Amherst, or Wolfe, nor Stauwix yet. With the post arrived twenty-two Indians of Canajoharie and Oneida. Late, the general came to my tent, and showed me what a quantity of provisions the Indians consumed.

"*Monday 10th*, Very wet morning. All the men obliged to quit work until 9 o'clock. About 12, the two French vessels appeared in sight, and stood in for this place above two hours; then stood a little off, and was still in sight the whole evening; many conjectures about them. Some would have it that they were taken by our detachment, which was out in quest of them; but by their not coming in, it appeared they were yet the enemy's. The Seneca Indians came to know when I would answer to what they said last Friday. I told them I would to-morrow at farthest. By a Mohawk, this day wrote a letter to Nancy, another to Molly, and a third to Isaac Quaagenboss, &c., with a pass.

"*Tuesday 11th*, A fine morning, no wind, but a strong breeze; the vessels out of sight. I sent Clement for Abram and Thomas, Mohawks, to let them know the general's pleasure, and give them an answer to what they said last Friday. In this manner; viz:

"*Brethren of the Six Nations*: It is now four days since you spoke to me on two points, to wit, concerning trade, and my going on another expedition. The reason of my not answering them sooner, was expecting to have heard what General Amherst's pleasure was concerning an expedition this way, so that I might speak to you with certainty. No such letter is as yet come, but daily expected. However, from the conversation I had yesterday, with the general here, I can answer you. With regard to trade I can say no more than what I have already told you, and you may depend upon it, the trifling trade now here, you, nor your people at home, are to judge by, as in war time every thing is dear—*Gave them three strings of wampum*.

"As to the other and last point, I am surprised at, as you, a few days ago, assured me that all your people, and the rest of the Confederacy, were determined to act heartily with us during the war, and now press me not to proceed with the army, and say I act rashly, in not first going home, and considering what farther steps are proper to be taken. It seems to me that you have very little confidence in Providence, and no regard for my honor, or character, or your own, when you desire me to stay inactive behind. I desire to

know what part you, the Six Nations, will act, in case your request should be complied with,—then I will give you my answer. *Returned their belt.* The general desired me to stop the Cayugas and others from coming here (as he finds it impracticable to move from here on an expedition), but to keep a few Indians to scout about here to prevent scalping. He told me that he entirely gave up all thoughts of proceeding to La Galette, but desired I would keep it very private.

“*Wednesday 12th*, Fine morning, but cold, wind northerly. Last night arrived a boat of Parker’s detachment, with four prisoners of the ship’s crew taken yesterday, as they went on shore to shoot, who, they say, vary in their accounts. One of them says that each of the vessels have forty men on board, partly militia, &c.; that one of them carries ten, the other eight guns, some of them twelve pounders; that they were to cruise eighteen days, then return to St. Paris; that they were then fifteen days out; that two hundred men who were at Cadaraghqui had lately abandoned it, and retired to Isle Galot; that on said island, Monsr. Levee¹ had about two thousand men entrenched, and had Mr. Mercier, an artillery officer, with him; that the vessels are to go to Point Paris or La Galette soon; that the third vessel is ready all to her rigging; and that their allowance of provision was one lb. of bread and one quarter of pork per diem. About 12 o’clock, an express arrived from Albany, but no letters from General Amherst. Some letters from his army of the 3d inst. say that he is building a large five-sided fort, and five redoubts, which, if all the men are employed, will be completed this season, and that the troops are not to go to winter quarters before finished. This evening, I sent the interpreter to call the Seneca sachems, in order to [hear] what they said.

“Some days ago, a party of the Canajoharies came on my call, and offered to go to La Galette on a scout, as soon as I pleased. I thanked them, and told them the sooner the better, and named the morrow for them to set off on this scout. At 6 o’clock, P. M., the sachems and young men of each nation assembled at my tent, when Abraham, chief of the Mohawks, delivered my answer to them; on which four of the chiefs withdrew to consider of what I had said, and what I desired to know of them concerning their desire I should not go any more against the enemy this campaign. They returned in about half an hour, and said that as they had agreed

¹ Or Sevee; indistinct in manuscript.

to our going to, and destroying Niagara, they now hoped and expected, that I would comply with their request, adding a great deal about the loss my falling would be to all their nations; and farther, that although they have (agreeably to my repeated advice) spoke to, and used their interest with all the nations, as far as the Canatas, yet, they did not think the alliance so firm as to push things too far, lest they might alter their resolutions, and think you grasping at too much. "This is only our opinion and advice, concerning our allies; as for us, we are determined to stand by you agreeably to our engagements." They thanked me for the promises made them of a trade being established on a fair and regular plan, as soon as the war is over, and assured me, that would be the most effectual method we could take of attaching all the surrounding nations to his majesty's interest. I then told them, that I would take their request into consideration, and give them my answer as soon as ready—on which the meeting broke up.

"As the general told me two days ago, that he could not proceed to La Galette, or carry on any expedition, and desired I would stop the Cayugas and other Indians coming, I think to make them this answer; viz: that if they will engage to keep this post of Oswego, and all other our posts between this and the Mohawks' country, free from scalping by the Swegatchie or other Indians, I will agree to their request. This will please them, and lay them under obligations to us, at the same time that the general does not intend anything that way. The general sent a boat this day with some orders to Captain Parker.

"*Thursday 13th*, Fine weather and very warm. The two vessels set off for Niagara with provisions. About two o'clock a Swegatchie Indian from the Cayuga nation arrived here; was sent by the Onondagas, whom I sent to Swegatchie for intelligence, and left there with Captain Parker's party last night, and expects they will be here this evening.

"*Friday 14th*, Fine weather. The scout, I sent for intelligence to La Galette, arrived, and brought the following accounts and news, viz: that on his way thither, he was met by a canoe full of Swegatchie Indians, who were encamped at Point Paris with some French. They went with them to their camp, and told them they were sent by me and the Six Nations, with a message to them, which they would deliver to them in their castle, on which they decamped. The French also decamped on their leaving them, and

burnt every thing at Point Paris, and retired to Isle Galot. On their arrival at their castle, they all assembled, and then my messenger told them, I sent them to acquaint them that our army would go that way, and if they would quit the French interest, and leave the settlement, they had an opportunity of saving themselves, and their families. If not, this would be the last warning they were to expect. They, for answer, desired the messengers to return me their hearty thanks for the advice I gave them, and the care I showed for their safety, and assured me in the most solemn manner, that they would not only quit the French interest, but on our approach meet and join us, and show us the best way to attack the enemy on the island, who were not above six hundred. They desired we would make all the haste possible, lest on General Wolfe's being repulsed, the enemy might send up large reinforcements to La Galette, and by that means baffle our design, and charge them with treachery. They told me the enemy carried away most of their cannon from Isle Galot, on one Mr. Bearn's intelligence of our army being intended to go down the river St. Lawrence. I immediately communicated this intelligence to Brigadier General Gage. About 5 o'clock, I sent a scout of thirty-two Canajoharies, Oneidas, and Onondagas, under the command of Captain Fonda, to La Galette. With him went Lieutenant Francis, Captain Tiebout, Ensign Roberts, and three battoe men of my own, with orders to bring prisoners for intelligence, and make all the useful observations they possibly could. They set off in four whale boats.

"Saturday 15th.—Rain in the morning, but a northerly wind cleared up the weather, so that the works were carried on very briskly. This morning, Bunt, chief of Onondaga, with his three sons, and others came to acquaint me that they were resolved to go on a scout to La Galette, and set off the day after to-morrow. Silver Heels, Daniel, and others, told me they were resolved, also, to go as soon as Captain Lottridge returned from Cayuga. About 10 o'clock, the general called me, Colonels Haldimand, Massey, and Graham to his hut, when he asked our opinions what number of men we thought sufficient to carry on the fort, so as to leave it this campaign on barbette, which, he said, was as far as the engineer expected to get it, and what number of men for the guards of the camp, woods, &c., and also, what number of men we thought necessary for incidental duty or fatigue. We were of opinion that 1100 men would be sufficient to work at the fort, 200 for guards in our absence, 100 for

incidental fatigues or other duties, and an addition of 42 men to Captain Schuyler's company of battoe-men. Then the general cast the whole up, and it appeared that there were about 1000 rank and file to go on an expedition, besides Indians, the number then unknown, as they were constantly coming in from different quarters, and the Cayugas all expected the next day. I told the general that our going and destroying La Galette, would be the means of drawing all the Swegatchie Indians away from the French [interest], and that if we did not attempt it now, it might be the means of riveting them more firmly in it. Besides that, our destroying La Galette, might make us masters of the French vessels, which then would be out of the way of any relief. All he said was, that it all depended on General Wolfe. After various opinions, our meeting ended in nothing, no resolution having been taken. A little after, the general told me I had better stop the Cayugas then on their way, and send those here home, by telling them the season was too far advanced, and could not complete this post if we went on any expedition, &c. About 1 o'clock, Captain Lotteridge arrived from Cayuga, with Lieutenant Hair, Red Head, and one Seneca, and reported that the Cayugas had received them kindly, and would all be here to-morrow, and desired them to acquaint me, that in case I should be gone on my march, they would overtake me before we could come to action, in which they were all resolved to act the best part they could. A number of Onondagas arrived just now, who came and told me they were come to join us, and that the rest of their nation were all coming with the same intent, and expected we were ready to proceed; if not, they would go by themselves against the enemy. The general told me this evening he had a letter by express from General Amherst, but no news, nor nothing of his proceeding to Mt. Real, or elsewhere, as I can hear.

"*Sunday 16th.*—Fine fall weather, windy and dry. An express arrived here from General Amherst, with letters to Brigadier Gage, inclosing him an extract of General Stanwix's letter to him, dated at Fort Bedford, the 16th of August, wherein he tells him that on the taking of Niagara, the French abandoned their posts at Winango, [Venango] River Boeuf, and Presque Isle; and on account of the lowness of the waters, were obliged to burn all their bateaus, &c. This, also, prevented the General sending Major Tulican with 400 Royal Americans to relieve the garrison of Niagara, so that now he waits to hear from Niagara what time they can send boats to

Presque Isle for the transportation of that body of troops. General Amherst recommends to Stanwix, the sending Colonel Boquet to command at Niagara, if convenient. The general showed me the letter he wrote the 10th inst. to General Amherst, wherein he tells him that it is impossible to do more with the few troops he has, than to make this post tenatable by the latter end of October, and bring up provisions for it and Niagara. As the building there will not be finished until very late, having so few hands, it will be very difficult to get the garrison from them this season. On the whole, the general seemed much perplexed, and said he wished he had not written to Stanwix about the garrison. He also shewed me two letters he had written Bradstreet, in one of which he tells him that unless provisions are sent up with more speed, and greater quantities than hitherto, he would be obliged to abandon Niagara, and these works. Shortly after, the general called me, Colonels Haldimand, Massey, and Graham, to his hut, to learn what intelligence Mr. De Quagne¹ learned from the French prisoners, by which the general would have it, that the enemy were very strongly entrenched there, with numbers superior to ours. After all, he desired the opinion of the gentlemen present, not as a council of war, but to enlighten him, as he vowed he was at a loss what step to take. The first that spoke his opinion was Colonel Massey, who said he thought it would be imprudent to go with any thing but a flying light body of troops—about 500—in order to destroy La Galette. I gave the general my opinion as thus—that I was apprehensive [i. e. was of opinion] a body of six hundred men might carry La Galette, and the Indians from thence, which would be a thing of great consequence; that if the enemy were weak at Isle Gallot, they might probably on our destroying La Galette, abandon it, if they did not learn our small number, which should be carefully concealed; that the vessels might also fall, by our succeeding at La Galette. If we found the enemy too powerful, I thought we could retreat with ease, and good conduct; that if we did not attempt anything that way, it might probably fix the Swegatchies firmer in the French interest, and be the means of establishing a stronger post there than ever. The other two gentlemen were very reserved, Haldimand in particular. We broke up without any resolution. The general followed me, and desired I would turn the thing in my mind seriously, and let him know my thoughts further about it. I, on this, spoke with Colonel

¹ M. de Couagne, French interpreter; at this time, stationed at Niagara.

Massey upon the subject, who said he would gladly go in case I went. I told him I was resolved to go if allowed, and would go directly and throw myself in the general's way, expecting he will ask me my opinion. I did so several times, even to the tent door, with his aid-de-camp and brigadier major, but he avoided talking with me on the subject.

"*Monday 17th.*—Very wet weather; no works going on. I intend this day to ask the general for 600 men, to go to La Galette, as the Indians here and there, both, are desirous of it. If he will not agree to it, I shall then desire liberty to go home. Thomas, Aaron and his family left this yesterday, and took one of the prisoners, taken from the vessel with them. I wrote to Nancy by them, and to my bowmaster.¹ This day, an express arrived from General Amherst, with letters to General Gage, by which, I heard Mr. Gage say, he did not expect anything to be done this way. Accounts from General Wolfe not very favorable. I received a letter from Mr. Amherst, dated 11th inst., another from Mr. Croghan with all his conferences. His letter is dated 16th of August; had not yet received my letter, and three Mohawk Indians. Very severe weather all day.

"*Tuesday 18th.*—Cold, raw, windy morning, after the severest night I ever remember for wind and rain. I caught a fellow in my tent drunk, with his firelock. He crept in from the weather. Sent him away to the guard, not as a prisoner, but relieved. I this day wrote to General Amherst pr. return of the express. The Indians very impatient to know whether we are to proceed or not. I have put them off from time to time, in hopes there would be something for them and us to do.

"*Wednesday 19th.*—A fine fall morning; wind at S. E. The Bunt's three sons, with seven Onondagas more, came and were fitted out to go scalping to La Galette. I ordered a whale boat for them, and everything necessary. Gave a silver gorget to the Bunt's grandson, who was appointed their leader. His name is Punch.—Soon after Missarung with six more came and were clothed, and joined the other ten Onondagas. In the evening, Karraghiagygo, with eight more, came to acquaint me, they were resolved to go a scalping by themselves the next day. In the evening, the wind turned to N. W., and rained very hard, and blew a severe storm. Rained all night.

¹ A Bouwmeester is a surveyor, in Nederduitsche; the term has sometimes been applied to the overseer of a farm.

“Thursday morning 20th.—A cold N. E. wind ; blew so hard that the parties could not set off, the lake being too rough. I have observed, since I gave my opinion for going to La Galette, that the general is not free or friendly with me, but rather shuns me. This day I answered the Ganughsharagey Indians, and told them, on my return, I would either give them some provisions or money, for their families, which they were very thankful for.

“Friday 21st.—A fine morning, but cold. I sent Printop over the river to hurry out the several parties, who are going a scalping. About 10’clock, I fitted out Karraghiagygo’s party, consisting of nine men, with everything necessary. The sachems of the Senecas, &c., came to know what we were resolved to do, whether to proceed or not. I told them I would answer them in the evening. The Bunt being drunk prevented meeting them. This afternoon, the two parties set off for La Galette with Captain Lotteridge, and the other with Lieutenant Hair. They are to be back in ten days if the weather permits. No news from any quarter; the express expected.

“Saturday 22d.—A fine morning. I took a whale boat, and Colonel Massey another, and went six or eight miles along the lake side a shooting—little or no game. We went up a creek which is called Red Head’s creek. About two miles, very navigable and deep, but no farther. Good fishing in said creek, and beaver also. Nothing extraordinary happened in my absence—the sick all ordered down.

“Sunday 23d.—A dark morning; wind N. W., no account of our vessels yet from Niagara. We begin to fear they are lost. This day, to the amount of one hundred and fifty sick were sent downwards. Last night, some more Onondagas joined us, and others to come this day from the Falls. About 5 o’clock, several Onondagas came to my tent, and told me they were come according to promise, and are ready to go with us upon service; that their chieftain, named Teiyoquande, notwithstanding he had lost one of his children, whom he had just burried, came with them, and was also resolved to join the army with his party, as he found the Six Nations were now heartily engaged in our cause. I bid them welcome; told them I was sorry for my friend’s loss, and would condole it to-morrow. They farther say, that they were told at the falls, by our people and the Indians that there was no expedition going forward, and that they might turn back. They answered, that as they were so far on their journey, and had promised faithfully to return hither, they

would come and know from me the certainty, which they now desired I would acquaint them with. I told them I would advise them on the whole, the next day—so parted, after drinking with them, and giving them pipes, tobacco, &c. I also gave Bunt clothes for himself and family—thus ended.

“Monday 24th.—A very fine morning; quite calm. Our two vessels returned from Niagara, with all the Yorkers that were left there. They say, Captain Lee with fourteen men went to Presque Isle, in order to learn where Mr. Stanwix was; the Mississagays, of whom there came about one hundred and fifty, to Niagara, brought and delivered up two of our men, taken at Belle Famille in the battle of the twenty-fourth. About 10 o’clock, Weaver, the post, arrived here with but few letters. The news by him was, that General Wolfe was still at Quebec, destroying all the country about. The sachems and warriors of the Onondaga and Seneca nations came to my tent, in order to know what was to be done, or whether the army was to proceed or not. On which I asked General Gage what answer I should make to them. He desired I would tell them, that as soon as the scouting party returned, and he could learn from the prisoners they might bring in, what news at La Galette, or that way, he would enable me to answer them. This I told them, and so parted, after condoling with Tyioquande.

“Tuesday 25th.—Very fine, warm weather. The Seneca and Onondaga sachems came to my tent, when the former told me, they had lost three of their people since they came here, and many more now very sick, so that they wanted to return home; besides they did not see any sign of going forward. I sent a black string of wampum by them, strongly recommending to their nation, in whose country Niagara was, to keep a good look out, and take care that none of that garrison or traders be molested; otherwise the general will be obliged to take proper measures to punish such a people.

“Our two vessels to sail this afternoon for Niagara with provisions. Mr. Vanscaack, and other traders are also going there this day with my pass. Cobus Van Eps asked liberty to go to trade at Irondequat with the Chenussio Indians. As it is near to their settlement, I agreed to it. Besides, it will be some plea for us to claim some right of building there and trading.

“Wednesday 26th.—A fine morning; wind at south east. I received a letter from Dominie Hardwick. Mr. Carty arrived here

with a number of sheep for the army; lost several by the way. Nothing new this day.

“*Thursday 27th.*—a little rain this morning; cleared up with a N. W. wind. Daniel, Belt, Silver Heels, &c., left this on their way home. Gave them some money, orders, &c., and so discharged them. This day nothing new.

“*Friday 28th.*—Morning clear, and wind at N. W.; blew hard all the night. This day wrote two letters for London; the one to Alderman Baker; the other to Messrs. Champion and Hayley. About 9 o'clock P. M., Captain Fonda, Mr. Roberts, and twenty of the party, who left this the 14th, returned for the want of provisions, and a good guide. The rest of them are gone on to La Gallette, in number, ten. They also saw the two parties pass, who left this last week.

“*Saturday 29th.*—A fine morning. Mr. Carty called upon me, and took my two letters for London, and one for Mr. Van Der Huyden. I sent Captain Butler to make a discovery, if he could, of a meadow which is two miles. Returned and found it would not do; is grown over with brush. Dined on a Michaelmas goose with General Gage. The Indians, who came from near Cadaraghqui, say they heard several cannon fired, they think, on board the vessels, about the 25th of this month.

“*Sunday 30th.*—Very fine morning. Work goes on very well, and the fort in great forwardness. At 12 o'clock, a boat with Onondagas, some whites, and two French Indians, arrived here. They were Bunt's son's party with Lieutenant Hair, who, meeting a French party coming this way a scalping, turned them back, and brought two Skanendaddy Indians to me from said party. On their arrival here at my tent, they told me all the news they heard in Canada, which I immediately acquainted General Gage of, and is as follows, viz: That General Wolfe is yet before Quebec; that eleven hundred Ottawas arrived at their, and the Coghnewagey castles before they left home, and were plundering the country; that the priest of La Gallette told them there were twenty-five hundred men on Isle Galot, fortifying themselves as fast as they could; that about seven days ago, a scout of seven men from General Amherst to Gage, was taken at La Gallette with their letters; that there is no news from General Amherst, than that he is at Crown Point building vessels and a fort; that these two Indians were sent by the rest of the party to know whether the news which the Swegatchie Indians told them they

received from me was true; if it was, they assured me that all their, as well as the Coghawaga castles, would pay all due regard to what I said to them, and never more assist the French, &c.

"1st October, *Monday*.—Fine weather. Colonel Massey and sundry other gentlemen and myself, went in two boats to Red Head's creek to hunt and fish, but had no luck, so returned. This day an express arrived with letters for the general and others; also newspapers, but little or no news in them.

"October 2d, *Tuesday*.—Fine morning; work goes on very well. Gave one McMaster, a pass to trade at Niagara with four battoc loads. The two Indians, who came from Canada, are gone this day to Onondaga to see some of their friends there, and promise to return in four or five days here, and carry a message from me to their nations. The Bunt's daughter-in-law was buried this day, after which he came and dined with me, and assured me he would not move until I did, be it which way it would. At the same time, he told me he would be glad to know what was to be done by us, whether to advance or not, that he might manage affairs accordingly with his nation. I told him that as soon as the general let me know his resolution, I would acquaint him. Then parted for this time.

"The general told me this afternoon, that General Amherst wrote him the 21st ult. from Crown Point, but nothing of his moving on, nor of ours here, but expects Mr. Gage with his troops will finish this fort, and complete Fort Stanwix.

"Wednesday, 3d.—Fine pleasant morning for work. The general read part of General Amherst's letter to him of the 21st ult. from Crown Point, wherein he expresses his concern at Mr. Gage's not taking post at La Gallette, which is so advantageous a pass, and nothing to hinder it, as all their force is employed below. He then says, that he expects, as he is determined not to take post at La Gallette, that he will complete Fort Stanwix and this post, as well as cut open a communication between this and the Mohawk river; that he has written the several governments to continue their troops the month of November, which he does not doubt they will come into; and a great deal more concerning the garrisons, provisions, and artillery—six hundred men to be here. He seemed greatly concerned on the whole, and was much surprised at the general's manner of writing. In the evening, he desired I would take up my quarters in one of the barracks, and then walked away. The boat returned from Fish Creek, and brought back the provisions

intended for the party on the scout so long ; but on seeing no signs of them the sergeant returned.

" *Thursday 4th.*—Began to rain about 7 of the clock. The works quitted thereby. This day, invited the General, Colonel Haldimand, Colonel Massey, Colonel Graham, Hauey, Fenton and Benton to dine with me. In the afternoon, I asked the general how long he thought it necessary to keep me here. He answered no longer than [until] the scouts returned, who are gone to La Gallette, or that it was agreeable to me. This day, received a letter from the general at Crown Point, concerning a party of Mohawks who were detained there by him until he heard their character from me. I answered said letter the same day.

" *Friday 5th.*—A fine morning; no wind. All hands at work. A party of Royal Americans sent to Fort Stanwix in order to enable the garrison to make roads and carry on the works there. Mr. Rivet sent to view the three posts between this and Fort Stanwix. The three men who were to be shot are pardoned. This day ten Cayugas arrived here from their country. On their coming to my tent, I condoled with three strings of wampum their losses, and then desired they would let me know what news in their country. They told me that their people were very sickly, and that several had died of the bloody-flux. They told me that their sachems were very negligent, and did not pay that regard or attention to business, which they, the young men, expected they would, and at this time, thought they should. Wherefore they came of themselves to see me at Oswego, and to know what was to be done further ; that they expected to have another message sent to them in case we wanted them, and that they would all have come to us. They further added, that on the sachems' finding that they were coming this way, they sent a string of wampum by them, desiring to acquaint me they were in great distress for want of smiths in their country to mend their arms, &c., and begged I would send them such. I told them I would speak to them the next day—gave them pipes, tobacco, rum, &c., and parted for that time. This day Bassy Dunbar and Lieutenant Pionier of the Royal Americans, fought a duel, in which the former received a shot in the breast through the lungs, which is thought will be mortal.

" *Saturday 6th.*—A dark, hazy morning and warm, after a good deal of rain in the night. All hands at work as usual. This day the first range of officers' barracks is to be raised.

" *Sunday 7th.*—Fine, warm day. The general and I took a ride to the half way creek with a guard of the light infantry. Dined with him. Captain Fonda returned from the next Oneida station, from whence to the ford at the Three Rivers, he marked out a road, with three Onondaga Indians whom I employed for that purpose, and says it will not be above ten miles distance. The general much pleased at their finding so good and short a road.

" *Monday 8th.*—Excessive hot weather. The sloops or schooners arrived from Niagara and brought five prisoners of ours from thence, who were taken in Major Grant's affair on the 24th July at Belle Famille. One of them is son of Mr. Guist, who gives a very good account of the Detroit settlement, &c. He says they expected to be drove from there by me, after Niagara was taken, and believes had we attempted it, they would all fly before us. Colonel Cole, of Rhode Island, arrived here yesterday, and brought me a letter from Mr. Hunter.

This day Captain Lotteridge and his party of Onondagas and Oneidas returned from their scout, and brought in three prisoners and two scalps, which they took between La Gallette and the island they are fortifying. They bring us the agreeable news of Quebec's having surrendered to the English army the 18th of September. Mt. Calm [Montcalm] killed—shot through the breast. General Wolfe killed, and the next in command, Mr. Ramsay, with six hundred in the citadel, capitulated. The army retired to a river about fifteen leagues above Quebec. Mr. Levy, going to Quebec with fifteen hundred men, was defeated by our people under the command of Murray. The general proposes sending an express with the news to General Amherst at daybreak to-morrow.

" *Tuesday 9th.*—Fine morning; wind at S. E. I wait for the return of four Mohawks yet out about La Gallette. When they return I propose to go home, the general having told me there was nothing more to do at present or for this campaign. The party of Onondagas, who returned yesterday with the prisoners and scalps, came to my tent with the rest here, and divided their prisoners and scalps. I gave one prisoner in the room of Bunt's daughter-in-law, named Kahiuenta, with three thousand wampum. I this day gave De Conagne instructions going to Niagara. The two vessels sailed for that place this afternoon, with provisions, artillery, rigging, sheep, &c. In the afternoon, about thirty Senecas, with their chief man, the Prunkard, arrived here. Mr. Guist came to know if I had

any commands down the country, as he was to set off for his regiment next morning with our battoes. Gave him some, and parted. Mr. Edward Cole, of Rhode Island, applied to me for advice and liberty to trade at Niagara.

“Wednesday 10th.—Fine weather; wind at S. E.; fair for the two vessels. The Onondagas came to know what resolution the general had come to, on examining the prisoners brought in by the Indians, agreeably to his promise made them several days ago. I told them I would acquaint them this day with the general’s resolution, concerning what they wanted to know. I spoke with the general about it, who desired I would acquaint them the season of the year was so far advanced, and so much work to be done here to finish the fort, that he did not intend to proceed further this campaign, and that they might return to their respective habitations and country. He desired I would return them thanks for their many services this campaign, and hoped they would be ready the next to join when called upon. This afternoon the Seneca sachems and warriors came to my tent, when I condoled their losses, and then talked to them upon business, and told them I would, the next day, meet all the nations here assembled, and settle all matters with them.

“Thursday 11th.—Cloudy weather; wind at south. This day the post arrived with letters from the army, and papers of the 1st inst., with an account of Prince Ferdinand’s beating the French army. This day I had a general meeting with all the Indians here, viz: Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas, Oncidas and Mohawks, when I spoke to them in the general’s name; returned them thanks for their services and attendance here this time past; told them that as the general only proposed finishing the fort in hand here, he did not intend to move further, so discharged them. I then spoke to them all in presence of three Indians sent by the Swegatchie and Coghnauegey Indians to me on business. The first belt was to acquaint them of the general’s not going forward this year, and that I had complied with their request, and I saw they did not choose I should go that way; and I told them that I expected they would always comply with my desire, whenever I might apply to them—*Gave a Belt.* *Secondly:* I desired they would all exert and interest themselves in the protection of Niagara, Oswego, and all the posts we have in their country. I also told them that if the Swegatchie Indians and others should attempt to molest any of said posts, or touch any of his majesty’s subjects, for the future, I never would

speaking a word in their favor, but advise the general to cut them to pieces; so hoped they, as their friends, would be careful to prevent them plunging themselves into danger and destruction; that as these forts were for the protection of their country, as well as of that of the trade intended to be carried on with them and their allies, it behooved them to do all they could for the safety of them—*A Belt.* *Thirdly:* A large black belt sent to the Swegatchie, Coghnauagey and Skanendaddy Indians, letting them know that I have hitherto befriended them; that they have it in their power now, by quitting the French, to become once more a happy people, but if, contrary to the many and solemn professions made to me and the Six Nations, and the assurances they lately, by belts and strings of wampum, gave me of their fixed resolutions to abandon the French, they should act a different part, they must then expect no quarter from us—*Gave a large Belt of Black Wampum mixed.* I then told the Indians I proposed leaving this place in a few days, and that they might expect to hear from me as soon as there was anything of consequence to communicate. They made answer that as it was now late, they would to-morrow say something in answer.

“*Friday 12th.*—Rained all the night. Morning wet, so that the works could not be carried on. Wrote to General Amherst this morning per servant, as the post was sent off unknown to me. At 3 o’clock, P. M., the Onondaga, Seneca and Cayuga chiefs and warriors came to my tent, when their speaker told me they had all attentively heard what I yesterday said and recommended to their nation; and they assured me, by a belt of white wampum, that they would keep a careful eye over Niagara, Oswego, and all our other posts in their country. At the same time, they said, it would be hard to blame them should any little damage be done at any of the places mentioned, as the French, as well as we, are always persuading parties to fetch prisoners for intelligence. However, we might depend upon their using all their influence with their relations, the Swegatchies, Coghnauageys, and Skanendaddys to quit the French entirely, if not, they must suffer for it. *Here Gave the Belt.*

“Next, the speaker said, it was the desire of the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas that I would send a smith and trader to each of their castles; also begged there might be a large store of goods, &c., at Niagara, Oswego and Fort Stanwix, which, they said, would please the foreign nations more than anything. They then desired to know when I would leave this, that they might tie up their packs,

take their hatchets in their hands, and escort me. I told them in two days, if the party of Mohawks returned in that time. I again strongly recommended the care of all the posts in this part of the country to them; promised to send them smiths, &c., and so parted.

"Lieutenant Bassey Dunbar died this evening of his wound; and died in peace with mankind, he told Parson Ogilvie. This day I gave orders for packing up, and preparing for a march homewards, as there is nothing to do here.

"*Saturday Morning 13th.*—Wet; wind at N. W.; a fresh gale. This morning I began to back up my little things and prepare to set off to-morrow, if God pleases. I waited on the general for leave to go home, which he readily complied with. Also gave Mr. Ogilvie liberty to go with me, and desired I would let him know what I wanted, that he might order Major Christie to get everything ready for me. This night I supped with Colonel Massey, when all the company were very merry. The Onondagas and Senecas spoke for powder and presents, with wampum, which I gave them.

"*Sunday 14th.*—Windy; dry weather; the wind at N. E. I was up early, and desired all hands to strike our tents, and load the battoes."¹

No. IV.

Private Manuscript Diary, kept by Sir William Johnson, on his Journey to and from Detroit—1761.

"*Saturday 4th July, 1761.*—At a meeting with all the Mohawks at my house, I acquainted them of my journey to Detroit, in order to call a meeting of the Ottawa Confederacy, and other nations of Indians, inhabiting those parts, with whom I am directed by General Amherst, to settle and establish a firm and lasting treaty; also to regulate the trade at the several posts in the Indian country. After that, spoke to them, and very strongly recommended a friendly behavior toward the king's subjects in my absence, and to follow their hunting, &c. They were much pleased with my acquainting

¹ It is, perhaps, unnecessary to remind the reader, that this diary was written hastily—in the confusion of camp life—and was, moreover, designed for no eye but the writer's; hence the carelessness of the style. The diary is written in a small leather covered book, very similar to our modern pocket diaries—exactly suited to the end for which it was designed, viz: to be carried in the pocket, and taken out whenever the writer wished to jot down a thought. These remarks apply equally to Sir William's journal while on his journey to Detroit,—both being written in the same book,

them of the cause of so long a journey, and wished me all success, but said they were very uneasy for my safety, there being several nations of Indians, through whose country I must pass, very much attached to the French interest; that notwithstanding their late fair promises, there were several of the Six Nations, also, not to be much trusted at present. They then assured me they would strictly follow my advice, by endeavoring all in their power, to prevent their young men committing any irregularities, or differing with any of the soldiers or inhabitants. They then said a great deal concerning their lands, and begged most earnestly that there might be a stop put to their brethren pressing and teasing them for their lands, which were now so clipped about on every side, that they could scarce live by hunting on what was now left. I assured them no land could be now taken from them, without being fairly purchased from them, his majesty having giving it particularly in charge to his governors, to prevent any people's taking up land without their consent, and payment made them for it. They expressed much satisfaction at it, and parted.

“Sunday July 5th 1761.—I set off from Fort Johnson for Detroit, accompanied only by my son John Johnson, and Lieutenant Guy Johnson of the Independents. Dined at Hannis Eeil's; there left a letter for young Captain Fry, and four commissions for himself and officers. Arrived at Canajoharie about 10 at night. Next morning, being Monday, called the Indians of that village together at my quarters, to whom I spoke as to the Mohawks. They were full of acknowledgment, and returned many thanks for the admonitions I gave them, and assured me they would endeavor, all in their power, to follow them and live in friendship with their neighbors and others. They concluded with great complaints against some of the inhabitants, who are daily endeavoring to get away their lands from them, and that, for others living at York, &c., whom they never saw or knew anything of. They then delivered a good belt of wampum, and three strings, [of the same,] to confirm what they had said, and to beg that their lands might be left to themselves, being already scarce enough to live on.

Gave a belt and three strings.

I gave them the same answer on that head, as I did to the Lower Mohawks, and ended.—That evening, left Canajoharie, and arrived at the German Flats, where I met about thirty Oneida and Tuscarora chiefs, who were going to my house, in order to make up,

if possible, the murder of one Gustavus Franks who was lately killed by one of their nation.

"Tuesday 7th.—They met at my quarters, and spoke with several belts of wampum, as may be seen in the minutes of that meeting, or in the Indian records. This day my five boats arrived here, and set off immediately.

"Wednesday 8th.—I set off and arrived at Oriske field that night, where, not finding my boats, was obliged to lie out in the open air without any manner of covering or conveniency. Next day, being Thursday 9th, I arrived at Fort Stanwix about 12 o'clock; dined with Major Campbell, and lodged there.

"Friday 10th.—My boats with the greatest difficulty arrived, having been obliged to drag them most of the way, on account of the lowness of the water. Ordered them over, and got them repaired in the best manner I could, and waited until the sluices were supplied with water to carry our boats down, which was not till Saturday noon, and then no farther than Bull's Fort, where we encamped in a burying ground because it was clear.

"Sunday 12th.—Opened the sluices, but for want of water, could not get the boats all through the sluice; so were obliged to encamp within one hundred yards of our last encampment. Some artillery boats near us, which have been five days going four miles.

"13th.—Opened the sluices, and with the greatest difficulty got over the smallest battoo; after which proceeded to Canada creek—the rest of the boats being obliged to halt about one and a half miles behind. Here Colonel Eyre overtook and delivered me a letter from the general, with intelligence from Captain Campbell, commanding at Detroit, concerning some design of the Indians rising against the English, which was corroborated by accounts sent me by two Mohawk lads, Joseph and David from the Canajoharie chiefs, who had it from one of their people, arrived from a place beyond the Chenusio, where he has lived several years. This was confirmed by a belt of wampum. They begged that I would not proceed, as it must be very dangerous to pass through the country of nations, who would not be now our friends. They were also told by the informant, that all Indians from whence he came, looked upon, and called them, the Mohawks, Englishmen; and that they would soon fall upon them, for their attachment to us. The two messengers staid with me that night. I dispatched them next morning with a belt in return for theirs, and this answer, viz: that I

took very friendly their sending me the intelligence, they received from one of their people, and that I hoped the Indians in that quarter or any other, would consider their interest more than [consent?] to a thing which must inevitably bring on their ruin; that if they had any such wild wicked design in view, I did not doubt but my presence among them might put a stop to it; therefore was determined to proceed with all the dispatch possible. As to any nation attempting to destroy them, for their attachment to the English, they might laugh at it, and be assured that as long as they, or any other nations, continued our friends, we would protect them from any enemies. Gave them some money for their journey, and dispatched them.

"14th.—We set off about nine in the morning, and encamped about a mile below the Oak Field.

"15th — Decamped, and with much difficulty arrived and encamped opposite the block house.

"*Thursday 16th.*—Sent off the baggage boat, and went up in a whale boat toward the Oneida Old Castle, in order to meet with the chiefs of that place, who were sent for the night before; but they not being at home, I delivered what I had to say to one of their chiefs in the presence of several of their women, and the Reverend Mr. Oaum, whom I very strongly recommended to them, as I did, also, a friendly behavior toward all their brethren, that I might hear no more complaints against them on my return, nor from them against the officers, soldiers or others as usual. I then acquainted them that General Amherst had sent me, some time ago, medals for such persons as went to Canada with the army last year, which I was now ready to deliver, were the persons here to whom they belonged. As they were not, must keep them till I had an opportunity of delivering them myself, that no mistake might be committed. They seemed well pleased at Mr. Oaum's coming among them, and expressed a great desire of being instructed in the Christian religion. They also assured me they would communicate what I had said, to the rest, and added, they did not doubt their complying strictly to what I had recommended. They complained to me of their being in a very wretched situation at present, for the want of provisions; that although they were starving (which Mr. Oaum told me was the case), their brethren would not give them any provisions. I told them they should not depend upon that, but endeavor to support themselves by hunting, planting, &c. Then gave them a little money and parted. After that, I spoke to the trader there, about

the prices of goods, and charged him at his peril, not to impose on any of them in trade. Then proceeded down the lake to Fort Brewerton, where we arrived at sunset. Supped with Captain Baugh, and encamped over the river, where some New York companies were also encamped.

“ Friday 17th.—Early in the morning, Saquerisen, chief sachem of Ganoghsaragey, came to my tent, and begged I would let him have some powder for the support of his family, which were very poor. After ending what he had to say, which was chiefly on the dearness of goods, and low prices of beaver furs, I asked him whether any deputies were sent by the Six Nations to Detroit or any other nations of Indians this spring or summer. He answered, there were some sent by the Senecas; that the Cayugas were to have sent some also, but on the arrival of one of the Cayugas in the Seneca country, he was told that it would not be prudent for him to go so far alone, so the Senecas went without him. On my asking him, what they were gone about, he told me that they were in behalf of the Six Nations to perform the ceremony of condolence for the Indians who were killed in the battle of Niagara in the year 1759, and after that, to strengthen and renew the old alliance between them. As none but the Senecas were sent among the western Indians, the Cayugas were sent to Cadaraqui to perform the same ceremony to the northern Indians living on the north side of the lake, for the losses they sustained at Niagara, and after that to renew their old alliances. This is what he told me, and that on their return, a meeting was to be called at Onondaga, at which the result of both embassies would be made known to the whole Confederacy. After this I let him know—he being one of their most sensible men—that the Senecas who went to Detroit were acting another part, and that their plot was discovered. Here told him as much of the intelligence sent by Captain Campbell, as I thought necessary, and then laid before him the madness of such an attempt, and the very fatal consequences of it to all their nation; and concluded with my advice to him and all of them, that if any such wicked design was intended, he and the rest of the Confederate part of them would immediately put a stop to it, otherwise it must inevitably bring on their ruin, which I was certain would be more agreeable to his majesty to avoid if possible. On hearing what I said, he seemed much surprised, and declared there was no such scheme agreed on by the Six Nations, nor such message sent by them to the Detroit or the Cadaraqui meeting; that

if what I now told him was true, it must come from the Seneca nation, and concluded by assuring me he would, on his arrival at his castle, acquaint the rest of the sachems, and then fall on the best measures they could, to find what the Senecas had done at Detroit, and if, as they now heard, endeavor to put a stop to it. I sent a string of white wampum by an Onondaga young Indian, who came to me while talking to the Tuscarora sachem, to desire the Bunt and other chiefs of that nation to come to me at Oswego, in order to talk with them on business, as well as to deliver their medals to all those of that nation who accompanied the general last year to Canada. On my mentioning some particular chiefs, he told me they were gone on the invitation of the governor of Pennsylvania to a meeting there to be held. The Tuscarora sachem told me that his and the Oneida nation refused sending any to attend said meeting. I dispatched the messenger, gave him a dollar and stockings, and to the other, several silver trinkets and decamped at 9 o'clock. Arrived at the Three Rivers about 6 in the evening, where I encamped.

“Saturday 13th.—Rained very hard until 12 o'clock. Then set off for Oswego Falls, where we arrived about 5 o'clock. Supped with the officer, Mr. Malto, and bespoke another boat.

“Sunday 19th.—Set off for Oswego about 6 o'clock, with two boats, and arrived there about one. Dined at Major Duncan's mess. After dinner viewed the vessel I am to go in. I saw some Senecas or Chenusios come lately from Niagara; asked them whether the deputies were returned from Detroit. They said not when they left home, but were daily expected.

“Monday 20th.—Had several Swegatchie, Mississagey, and other Indians come to my tent, to whom I told the intent of my going to Detroit was to settle and establish a lasting peace and friendship with all nations of Indians who desired his majesty's protection. Also to regulate trade, and put it on the best footing possible at present, and desired they would acquaint all their people with what I now told them. They seemed vastly pleased with what I told them, and promised to deliver all I said to them on their return to their nation. They asked the reason of so many men here, and passing by with cannon. I told them some were for finishing the forts, others for garrisoning the several outposts surrendered to his Britannic Majesty by the capitulation, which by the lateness of the season could not be done last year; that the cannon were for the vessels and forts. I sent a string of wampum by Kay-

enquego, a Chenusio Indian, to desire that a few sachems of his nation would meet me at Niagara, in five or six days at farthest. He set off in the afternoon, and promised to be at Chenusio in three days, for which I bought of Mr. Keikman a shroud, gartering, stockings, &c., for him as a present, and gave him a little money to buy provisions. In the evening, two Onondagas arrived, and let me know that forty of their nation were encamped about a mile from hence, and would be here in the morning to hear what I had to say to them. The vessel being ready to sail for Niagara, I desired the messengers to return and let the sachems know I impatiently waited their arrival. On which they set off.

“*Tuesday 21st.*—Got everything on board the vessel, then met the Onondaga and other chiefs. When assembled, I bid them welcome; condoled their late losses agreeably to custom; acquainted them with the reason of my not calling them to a general council since my return from Canada; and then let them know the reason of my going to Detroit, and told them I expected the Five Nations would have attended said meeting. Then advised them to a friendly behavior toward their brethren, and not to pay any regard to the reports of foolish, idle people, as they hitherto have too frequently done.—*A Belt of Wampum.* Then delivered the medals sent me by the general for those who went with us to Canada last year, being twenty-three in number.

“They then withdrew about an hour, and sent me word they were ready to answer.

“Present, Major Duncan, Captain Gray, several officers of the 55th and Gage’s regiment, interpreters, &c.

“The speaker stood up, and went through the ceremony of condolence for the losses we sustained, and returned first many thanks for what I had done, with three strings of wampum. He then pulled out a large, white belt, which I had given them formerly when going to Niagara, and repeated all I had said by said belt, viz: a good trade was promised, and good usage of them forever after, if they would exert themselves in conjunction with us against the enemy, which, they said, they had done by giving us Niagara as a salve for our wounds. Notwithstanding all this, they alleged they were very ill used and treated by our people in point of trade, and at the several posts, where they are roughly handled, very often without any cause. As this is so contrary to what they expected in case we conquered the French, they all entreated that they might

be better used, or else they must think that what the French told them was true.—*Laid down a large belt.*—"BROTHER: We are surprised at your going to call a council at Detroit, when you know that the chief and only council fire burns at your house and Onondaga; besides these Indians you are going to, ought rather, as being aggressors, to come to you. You recommend it to us to mind our hunting and trade, and live in friendship with our brethren at the several posts. It is what we would be very desirous of, but they, by their behavior to us at the several posts, seem not to have any liking for us, and use us very ill at times without any cause, taking our women from us by violence, using them and us ill besides, and hindering us from fishing and hunting on our own grounds near the posts, and often taking what we catch or kill from us. This is not agreeable to the promises made us, or the friendship so long establishing between us and you. We beg, brother, you will interpose and see justice done us, and that there may be a fair trade carried on by your people; also interpreters allowed at the several posts, who may prevent misunderstandings happening between us and our brethren, for want of knowing what each other says.

"*Brother*: With regard to what you told us—concerning the intelligence sent from Detroit, and desiring us to take care how we entered into any such vile, dangerous schemes, and that we should not get drunk, or suffer our heads to turn, which would end in our ruin—we can only say, that we know nothing at all about any such plot; neither are we, or shall we get drunk or suffer our heads to grow giddy, but hold fast the covenant-chain, and hope you, on your part, will also hold it fast—then we may both live to be grey. This belt of yours shall be sent to the several nations, our allies, and acquaint them with what you say, and our resolutions now declared to you, which we expect will be a rule or precedent to them, when they are all acquainted therewith, you will receive a belt in return.

"*Brother*: Here is one of our people present, named Kanadaeta, who had his hunting house near this place, plundered this last spring, while he was on the hunt, of thirty buck skins, two kettles, a gun, axes, &c., by some of the English going to Isle Royal. He hopes you will inquire into it, and get him some redress. He is now left quite naked thereby, as he has nothing to purchase clothing.—*A String.*

"*Brother*: I now speak at the desire of the warriors who came

here to see you, and wish you a successful journey, and safe return. I am, on their behalf, to let you know they are much distressed for the want of ammunition to hunt and maintain their families by. Not being able to get any for love or money, they, therefore, by this large bunch of wampum, beg you will let them have a couple of casks to serve them with until you return, and lead in proportion; and be assured they will not forget your favor."—*Gave a large Bunch of Wampum and ended.*

"I then answered them thus:

"*Brethren of Onondaga and others* :—This belt you now lay before me by way of reminding me of the promises made you heretofore, is needless, because I have it on record, as well as your promises and conduct never to be forgotten. Your behavior last year, in many of your people leaving the general and me at Swegatchie after the reduction of Isle Royal, was so unbrotherlike, that neither the general nor myself could think of serving you, who left us, as heretofore: that and some other parts of your conduct, has occasioned our not fulfilling all that was promised you, so that you may blame yourselves, not us. However, if your promises now made of keeping fast hold of the covenant chain for the future be sincere (which will be your interest), you may expect we will, in such case, act a friendly part toward you, and allow you a plentiful trade, and not suffer any of our people to molest or use you ill. If they should undeservedly, they will be punished; for the general is determined that neither shall kill or hunt the other unpunished. *A Belt.*

"*Brethren*: As our conquests in this country are now great, by beating our common enemy, our trade and alliances of course must be more extensive than heretofore, and it will be necessary to have other meetings and places of trade, than Oswego and Onondaga. So that your surprise may now cease, when you see that we have agents for the management of Indian affairs in several quarters, viz: here at Pittsburgh, Detroit and Canada, the better to keep up a good understanding with, and strengthen the extensive alliance now between us and the many nations of Indians who have, and are daily coming in to our interest; seeing it their interest to be friends with the English, it will be for your good to keep up a good understanding with them also. As to your people being abused, or ill treated at our posts, I fancy it must be owing to ill behavior in you when in liquor, wherefore [I] would recommend to you to leave off the immoderate use of it; and I am certain then you will not meet

with any ill usage undeservedly. I would also advise you not to be going constantly to, or idling away your time at the posts, as you can employ it to more purpose by hunting for the support of your families. On my return, I shall provide interpreters to remain at the principal forts or posts, which will be a means of preventing disputes arising between the garrisons and your people, for want of understanding each other.

“*Brethren*: I am very glad to hear that you know nothing of, nor have no hand in, what is said to have been proposed by the Senecas at Detroit. If you act the wise part, you will avoid engaging in a wild scheme, which none but madmen would think of, as such a one would inevitably end in your ruin. You are right in letting all your friends know your resolution of holding fast the covenant chain, and living in friendship with the English; and I doubt not but that they will readily follow your example, as they certainly have sense enough to know what is their own interest. That will be the surest way of living until you are grey-headed, which I wish you to attain to.

“*Brethren*: Could the person who robbed Kanadacta’s hunting house last spring be found out, he would be punished in such a manner as the nature of the crime required, and proper satisfaction made to the man agrieved. But until it can be known who did it, there can be nothing done, more than that I will, on my return, consider his losses, by giving him some clothing, a kettle, &c.

Returned his String.

“*Brethren*: As I am pleased with your professions of friendship, and conduct at this meeting, and am sensible of your distressed situation for the want of ammunition to support your families, I will speak to the officer commanding this fort, to supply you with two casks of powder, which I hope you will, by your behavior toward your brethren, shew them you deserve it; and that will be the means of making us ready to assist you, and be ready to supply your wants another time.” *Returned a large bunch of black and white wampum.*

“I then concluded by telling them, that soon after my return, I proposed calling a meeting of the Six Nations, in order to strengthen the covenant chain, and put all matters between them and us on the best footing. Then I bid them farewell. So ended this meeting. I then dined with Major Duncan, and at 4 o’clock P. M., went on board the French schooner called —, ¹ with Colonel Eyre, Lieuten-

¹ Illegible in manuscript.

ant Guy Johnson, Lieutenant Irwin, and my son Captain John Johnson—the wind at W. S. W.

“ *Wednesday 22d.*—Fine weather. We had a view of Irondequat land; also, towards evening, a view of the Highland on the north shore. This day wrote my brother Warren a letter, and enclosed it in one to Ferrall Wade.

“ *Thursday 23d.*—Fine weather; wind N. W. We were obliged to trip it. About noon, the wind blew very hard ahead, so that we could not reach Niagara although in sight, and were obliged to beat off all night in a very rough sea, in great danger of loosing our mainmast.

“ *Friday 24th.*—In the morning, wind at N. East. At 6, in sight of Niagara Fort; stood in and made the harbor about 7 in the morning. Went on shore, when I met Major Walters, and several of the traders; went to the fort, to a room prepared for me, breakfasted and dined there. Major Walters delivered me a letter from Captain Campbell, at Detroit, with minutes of a conference held there, the 3d inst., by the two Seneca deputies with the several nations living about there, who disapproved of the Seneca's message and intentions. Mr. Preston, formerly of the 44th regiment, came to me and told me that the Chenusios, with whom he lived all the winter, were not well affected to the English, neither did they like our going beyond Niagara to garrison posts, or even to trade; that it was their country, and they looked upon it, that we were going to surround or hem them in; that they were very scarce of powder, and believes if they had a sufficiency, they would be ready enough to fall upon some parties of our people going to Detroit; that they have an English lad prisoner, and a great number of horses, which they stole from us; and that they daily take more from Pittsborough, &c.

“ *Saturday 25th.*—Some Senecas came to me and complained of their being robbed by some of the garrison, having four horses also stole from them, and one of their men wounded in the breast and arm, by shot from one of the soldiers at Little Niagara. I gave them two casks of rum, some paint and money, to help toward making up their losses, on which they went away pretty well satisfied. Another complained of his brother being killed by some of the garrison at Venango without any cause, which made the rest of the people of that settlement break up, and go to Chenusio much dissatisfied. In the afternoon, Major Gladwin arrived with

Gage's Light Infantry, and encamped. Our boats still behind. Captain Butler from Toronto arrived here, and gave a very good account of the behavior of the Mississagays, Chippawas, Michilimackinacs, &c., during their residence there, and by their speeches, and everything else, seemed to be very hearty in our interest. He is to set off from here on the morrow.

"Sunday 26th.—At seven in the morning, I set off with Colonel Eyre, Lieutenant Johnson, my son, and De Couagne, for the island, whereon the vessel is building for exploring the Lakes Huron and Michigan, which island is about two miles from Little Niagara, on the place where Shabear Jean Cœur lived. There is a house built within a quarter of mile of said place, by one Stirling, for the use of the company, viz; Rutherford, Duncan, &c., who intend to monopolize the whole carrying-place, by virtue of a permit from General Amherst. The schooner, building upon the island, was in such forwardness as to be ready to launch in about ten days, but was put a stop to in order to build a boat, pinnace fashion, for Major Gladwin's service. Dined with John Dies, after which Colonel Eyre went in a boat to explore the Chippaway river—the entrance of which is about two miles above the Great Falls. In another branch of said river, our people found a great quantity of pine planks of several dimensions, sawed by hand, which they used in making the vessels. About 6 P. M., we set off from the post where Jean Cœur lived, and arrived at the fort of Niagara at 9 at night.

"Monday 27th.—Major Gladwin and I went to desire Major Walters to suspend a court martial, which was ordered to be held on one Ensign Hays, which he said he could [not] possibly agree to, so the court martial sat. About 9 o'clock, an Onondaga Indian came and complained to me of John Abeel's cheating him; on which I sent the Indian, with the orderly sergeant, and a few lines, to Abeel, and made him do justice to the Indian, which, with a little money I gave him to buy provisions for his journey, pleased him greatly, as did also my acquainting him with the reason of my journey to Detroit. He greatly disapproved of the Chenussios' conduct, and said they were always a troublesome set of people. About 12 o'clock, took a walk into the Trader's Town, where I met Mabicomicot, chief of the Mississagays, with whom I had a little chat, and invited him to the fort. Dined with Major Walters. After dinner, Major Gladwin and I settled the number of men necessary to send, for garrisoning the several little out-posts in the Indian country, viz;

two subalterns and sixty men, which, with what men Campbell may spare, we judged sufficient for three posts, which Mr. Gladwin imagines is as much as he can visit this season. They are to set off and follow us as soon as boats and provisions can be got ready, so as not to delay the service. Captain Etherington was present at the time. I gave Major Gladwin, at the same time, two letters, the one for Mr. Croghan at Sandusky, the other for Captain Campbell at Detroit; with which he is to send an officer to-morrow, and a boat's crew to Sandusky, where he is to remain until Mr. Croghan arrives; then proceed to Detroit. The reason of my sending this express is, to have all those Indians acquainted with our coming there, so as not to surprise or alarm them. My boats not yet arrived. I ordered a battoe to be fitted up for my own use, there being no whale boats here, nor at Oswego, fit to go in.

"Tuesday 28th.—Had a meeting with several Chippaway chiefs, in the presence of Colonel Eyre, Major Walters, &c., Mr. De Couagne, interpreter, which will appear by the records. An Onondaga Indian just arrived from Detroit with a trader, who was present at the meeting there, between the two Seneca messengers, the Chenundaddeys, Ottawas, &c., and told me the whole of what passed there. He says it was chiefly spoken in Shabear Jean Cœur's name, who, before [he was] taken, advised that step to be taken, in case the French should fall. He thinks some of the Ottawas are not yet well inclined to peace with us, but that the Wyandots asked the Onondaga whether his nation was concerned in the affair. He declared they were not, which pleased the others much. He tells me the two messengers are returned by the way of Ohio; they live at Garahusk-aragey; one of their names is Tahaiadoris. The Onondaga, who came from Detroit, complained to me of his being wronged by one Stillman, in whose employ he was as battoe-man. Said Stillman agreed with him for £4 pr. month, victuals and drink; that he had served him faithfully, and could not get his pay, Stillman trumping up an account against him for £11.18. of which sum, he charges for five gallons of rum £10,—and delivered me said Stillman's account. I sent for him, in order to examine into the affair, but he is gone to the carrying-place. Major Walters made a long complaint to me of the disrespect showed him by his officers, and the partiality shown in behalf of Mr. Hays, tried yesterday by a court martial, and said if the general did not support him, he would desire to be relieved. About 5 o'clock, began to rain. No account yet of my battoes.

This morning, the light infantry moved up to the carrying-place and propose to begin riding over some of their things to-morrow morning. This day, made out a speech to deliver the Senecas and Chenusios on their arrival here. I hourly expect them. Ordered some provisions this day for the Indians, viz; 11 loaves of 4 lbs. each, and 28 [pounds] pork. Supped with Captain Etherington.

" *Wednesday 29th.*—Fine weather. No account of my boats yet. Three French families arrived yesterday evening from Montreal, going to settle at Detroit. They saw nothing of my boats. This day, borrowed of William Knox, sutler, the sum of fifty-six pounds York currency; when we arrive at Detroit, he will make up as far as one hundred pounds, which I am to give him a draft for, on Ferrall Wade. Wrote this day, by Colonel Eyre, to General Amherst.

" *Thursday 30th.*—Fine weather; wind westerly. Colonel Eyre, Mr. Cox, and Mr. McAdam were to sail in the vessel for Oswego, which was loaded mostly with beaver skins, &c. This afternoon, I had the Chippaway and Mississagey sachems, who delivered me their answer to what I said to them the day before. I promised them some clothing to-morrow, and a little ammunition and provision to carry the families of those who go with me, back to their own country—also to send them a smith next fall to this place to mend their arms and working utensils.

" *Friday 31st.*—A fine morning. Colonel Eyre came to my room at 5 o'clock to take leave, the vessel waiting with a fair wind. No account yet from the Senecas, whom I sent for from Oswego. Wrote Ferrall Wade by Colonel Eyre; also a letter to General Amherst per Colonel Eyre. In the afternoon delivered the present to the Chippaways and Mississageys, who were very thankful, and made the fairest promises that could be, of living forever in friendship with the English. They added, that on the return of their people, who were setting off for their country, their nation, on seeing the friendly usage they met with, would be convinced more and more of our brotherly regard for them, and would be the means of riveting them all firm to our interest. Then I spoke with some Chenundaddey Indians, just arrived from Detroit, and desired them to call upon me next morning, that I might send a message by them to their nation.

" *Saturday August the 1st.*—The Chenundaddey Indians came to my quarters, when I delivered a belt of 7 rows of wampum, and desired they would acquaint their nation of my coming to hold a

council in their town, where I desired they, the Wyandots, would summon all the surrounding nations as soon as possible, that I might be able to return before the bad season of the year came on. I also acquainted them by said belt of Major Gladwin being on his way thither, in order to garrison the several French posts, surrendered to us by the capitulation of Canada last year, so as not to be surprised at their appearance. Then delivered them a little clothing, paint, some silver trinkets, and cash to buy bread for their journey.
—*A Belt.*

“ Their answer. Brother : It gives us great pleasure to see you of whom we have often heard ; and we now heartily shake you by the hand as our friend. We return you many thanks for this mark of your friendship ; and be assured, if the wind will allow us, we will be in a few days home, when we will deliver your message faithfully to our chief men, who will doubtless send runners to call the other nations to meet you—then parted. About two hours afterward they returned to let me know that they could not proceed, as their canoe was broken by the soldiers at Little Niagara, on which I got Major Walters to write the sergeant there about it, and get them a little pitch to mend it. So set them off. This day Soajoana, chief of the Senecas, arrived here. I sent an Onondaga to desire he would come to me, as I wanted to speak with him. In the afternoon took a walk to my old encampment in 1759.

*“ Sunday August 2d.—*Fine, warm weather. No account yet of my boats. Quite out of patience waiting for them. In the afternoon took a walk to Petite Marie, or landing-place, but could not see or hear anything of my boats. Two of the light infantry deserted. Soajoana not come to me yet.

*“ Monday 3d.—*Still fine weather ; wind at W. A Chenusio young fellow arrived here about 3 o'clock, sent by the sachems to acquaint me, that they were, to the number of thirty, on their way hither, agreeably to the call I gave them, when at Oswego, on hearing that some of their nation had been to Detroit with a war-belt. The messenger told me they would be here to-morrow or next day at farthest, having parted from them yesterday. Major Gladwin came here from the Falls, and told me he expected to have his boats, &c., over in four or five days ; that the pinnance he ordered to be made would be finished in about ten days. Captain Fonda arrived here from Toronto, where he said the trade was over for this season ; and that they had a great deal of goods yet on hand,

which he offered to sell at prime cost, but could not dispose of them. He says the Indians all behaved extremely well who came there to trade; that they sell gunpowder at a bear skin for a pound.

"*Tuesday 4th.*—Fine weather; very warm. Wind at S. W. No account of my boats yet. This morning, sent two Senecas in pursuit of two deserters of Gage's. A Seneca Indian, who came over to my camp during the siege of this place, with about thirty of his people, paid me a visit. On my examining him, and asking how it came that the Senecas sent such a message to the western Indians at and about Detroit, he told me that it came from the Indians about Ohio, who had one of their men killed at or near Fort Pitt last spring; that others were abused much by the English, and lately, five Delawares were killed near Shamokin, and a Seneca killed by the garrison at Venango; that he believed that to be the reason of their sending such a message to Detroit, imagining the English intended their destruction from their unfriendly and rough behavior to the Indians who came to see them. The name of Shabear's son, who went with the war belt to Detroit is Tahajidoris; the other is Kaiaghshota, both Senecas. Mr. De Couagne, interpreter, came to let me know that Sonajoana, chief of the Seneca nation, was here, and intended to wait on me this morning. About 12, he, another Seneca, and their families came to my quarters, and after telling me they were very glad to see me, said they would wait the arrival of the several sachems of their nation, who were coming here on my call from Oswego, and expected they would arrive to-morrow. Gave them pipes, tobacco, a little provision, and a couple glasses of wine to each, and parted. I desired Major Walters to forbid any rum by traders, sutlers or others, to the Indians, during the stay of the Seneca chiefs, as it would not only confound them, but greatly retard the intended meeting. He accordingly gave out his orders for that purpose. This afternoon, I made out regulations for Indian trade, which is to be put up at each post where trade is carried on with Indians.

"*Wednesday 5th.*—Very heavy rain in the morning until nine o'clock. Wind at S. West. No account yet of my boats. Captain Fonda came to acquaint me he was going to Toronto, as he could not dispose of his cargo here, although he offered all his rum at 8s. 6d. per gallon. In the afternoon went a gunning with Captain Slossen. Four men whipped, for robbing a Seneca Indian of a keg of rum, in their presence.

"*Thursday 6th.*—Fine weather: wind at N. East; very warm.

No account of my boats yet. I made out a regulation for the Oswego trade this day, which I am to send by first opportunity to Major Duncan in order to set it up in the fort. In the afternoon took a ride to Petite Marie with Lieutenant Johnson, Captain Etherington and Doctor Stevenson. In the evening Collins Andrews arrived here from Detroit in fifteen days; all well there, but trade very dull. Goods sold at 20 and 30 per cent. profit to each other. Mr. Gamblin, who was taken prisoner here two years ago, is come in company with him to the falls, and will be here to-morrow or next day.

Friday 7th.—Fine weather; but rather too hot wind at west. No account of my boats.

Saturday 8th.—Fine weather; wind at N. E., until 11 o'clock, then turned to S. W.; weather warm. At 12 o'clock the Senecas came to me, and told me that three young men, who were sent by the sachems express, arrived, and were desired to acquaint me that the sachems, &c., who were coming on my call from Oswego, were returned on account of one of their chief men, named Karaghianaghqui, falling sick, which prevented their proceeding. Therefore, would be glad if I would deliver what I had to say, to the Senecas, who were at Niagara, being about twenty-two in number, with a chief called Sonajoana, who would acquaint the rest with it. I told them that I was surprised at their not obeying the summons sent them, as it greatly concerned their interest and welfare, having something of moment to say to them; however, as there were some of their chiefs here, I would, in the afternoon, speak to them. After dinner Mr. Gambling arrived, and told me that an Indian from the Ottawas desired him to take care of himself, and get out of the way, as this place and Detroit would be destroyed in a few days. On asking Mons. Gambling when he returned, he answered in three or four days, but that he would wait any time to accompany me to Detroit, where his horse was at my service. At 4 o'clock, sent for the Senecas to my quarters in the fort. When met, delivered them what I had to say myself, Mr. De Couagne not being able to do it. It will appear in the records of Indian affairs. They told me they would return me an answer on to-morrow. Then broke up. Captain Slasser took me out to walk, when he let me know his desire of settling on a farm and quitting the army, and sending for his wife and family. He left it for me to choose a proper place for him, which I shall look out for on my return.

Sunday 9th.—Very fine, warm weather; wind at N. N. E. No

account of my boats yet. This morning I wrote a letter to Captain Clause by Mons. Desonie, who is going to Mt. Real with about three hundred packs; another letter to Major Duncan at Oswego, with the regulation for trade. Mr. Gambling came to see me and talked a good deal about the present situation of affairs at Detroit, and the disposition of the Indians in that quarter; all which he represented in a very favorable light, and is of opinion that few or none of the Indians that way like the Six Nations. Mons. Desonie gave me also a very good account of the Indians inhabiting those parts; and is of opinion that no rum should be sold, or allowed to be sent beyond Niagara. It never was allowed by the French government. Major Gladwin arrived here from the landing place above the Falls, and said he would be ready to start in about three days. Asked me whether I had any commands. I told him none; that he might proceed as soon as he could to Detroit, and that I expected to overtake him before he got there. In the afternoon about twenty-five Senecas assembled at my quarters, and in answer to what I had delivered them yesterday, declared they did not know anything of the affair; and that they were of opinion, as the two messengers who went to Detroit with the belt of wampum live at or near Fort Pitt, that it must be from that quarter; that as to their people stealing horses, they did not deny but some foolish young men might have done so, but promised that they would for the future take better care, and prevent any cause of complaint of the kind, as they were desirous of living in friendship with us. *Here gave a bunch of wampum.* The speaker then, in behalf of the warriors, sachems, and principal women, begged I would be so kind as to consider their poverty, and allow a little ammunition to the young men to kill some game for their support, and some clothing to cover the nakedness of their women, which, if granted, they would always be grateful for. — *A bunch of wampum.*

“My answer. — Brethren of the Seneca Nation: I have with attention and surprise heard you now declare your innocence and ignorance of the late message sent to Detroit by two of your people, who, although they live detached from you, would not, I am certain, presume to take upon them an affair of that kind, without your consent or approbation, as I well know that in matters of less moment you all consult each other. As this is so villainous an affair and carried so far, I must tell you plainly that I look upon what you now tell me only as an evasion, and kind of excuse to blind us.

And I tell you, that all the excuses you can make, and all the rhetoric your nation is master of, will not satisfy the general, nor convince me of your innocence, unless a deputation of your chiefs appear at the general meeting which I am now calling at Detroit, and there in the presence of all the nations declare your innocence and disapprobation of what was done by the two messengers last month at Detroit. This I expect you will do to show your brethren your innocence, and all the Indians your detestation of so vile and unnatural a plot."—I here returned them their own wampum, to show them I paid no regard to what they said, which greatly staggered them all. After some time spent in talking together, their speaker said: "*Brother*: You are very hard upon us, after our honest declarations of innocence. However, as it does not give you satisfaction, we will send off to-morrow morning your belt to our nation, with what you have said to them, and doubt not but some of our chief men will be ready to go to the proposed meeting at Detroit, and then satisfy you and the world of their innocence.

"Then I desired they would lose no time, so that they might not retard the meeting, and promised them I would cover their nakedness the next day. And as to ammunition, I told them it was owing to their ill behavior last year, in leaving us after the surrender of Isle Royal, that they were not taken more notice of. Besides, they could not expect we would now put arms or ammunition into the hands of people who are mad enough to think of quarrelling with us. However, on their solemnly declaring themselves innocent of the charge, and promising to behave as friends, I told them they should have a little ammunition for the present, to kill some game on their journey home. Thus ended.

"At 9 o'clock at night my boats arrived from Oswego, having eleven days' passage; brought me several letters and newspapers; also a letter for Captain Campbell at Detroit.

"*Monday 10th.*—Fine weather; very warm, ordered my boats over the river opposite to the fort, and after drawing provisions, to embark and go up to the landing place or La Platon. A report made me of several things destroyed and ruined by getting wet in the boats.

"Gave Mr. De Couagne a list of such goods as I propose giving to the Seneca Indians, that he may purchase them of the traders here. At 12 o'clock, delivered the goods to them, and promised a keg of rum on their journey, when ready to set off. About 4

o'clock, the boats set off and went up to the landing place. Nickus, of Canajoharie, an Indian, arrived here, and acquainted me that several of his castle died of a malignant fever, since my passing that castle, and that all Brant's¹ family were ill of the same disorder, except the old woman. He also told me that he had heard, by the way, from several Indians, that I was to be destroyed or murdered on my way to Detroit, and that the Indians were certainly determined to rise and fall on the English, as several thousand of the Ottawas and other nations had agreed to join the Five Nations in this scheme or plot.

"*Tuesday 11th.*—Fine weather; very hot. Every day I am making ready to set off for the landing place, in order to hurry every thing over. Sent my son there with directions what to have done; also orders to Captain Walters to get the boats over as soon as possible.

The Mohawks and Oneidas spoke in behalf of their nations to the Chenusios with wampum; and after condemning the part they understood they were acting, strongly exhorted them to a better behavior, and also insisted on their delivering up what horses they had taken from hence—otherwise it must be productive of a quarrel with the English, which they will be blamed for by all nations. They also advised, that some of their sachems might attend the intended meeting at Detroit, and there declare their sentiments in the presence of their brethren, the English, and all the nations of Indians assembled at said congress. *Three strings of wampum.* The Senecas thanked them for their advice, and assured them, they would faithfully report it to their chiefs, on their arrival in their country; and were of opinion it would have great weight with them.

"Old Belt, the Seneca chief, two other chiefs, and several others of his nation just now arrived, who came purposely to see me, hearing I was at this place. On asking him how all in his country did, he answered, "all well and very peaceable." I asked him if he had not heard of the measures proposed by some of the Senecas lately at Detroit. He declared he had heard nothing of any moment since his arrival in his country. After ordering him some provisions, which he seemed in great need of, he went away, and promised to come and smoke a pipe with me in the afternoon. He

¹ Always spelled thus by Sir William Johnson.

accordingly came and spoke (as will appear in the records of that day), when I told him what passed at Detroit, which surprised him. I asked his opinion of it. He said that when the sachems from the Seneca country, who were gone to Onondaga on business, were come back, he could tell what was intended, and would let me know it. He added, that as he was invested with the direction of the affairs of the nation where he lived, I did not doubt but he would be able to settle all matters on the best footing among them.

“Wednesday 12th.—Fine weather. I set off for the landing place with my baggage, in company with Captain Etherington, Doctor Stevenson and Lieutenant Johnson. When I arrived there, I found Mr. Frazier, an officer of Gladwin's party, getting over the last of their things. In the evening, I sent over four of my battoes, there being no more carriages. The royal American party is also here, waiting to get over their provisions, &c. I expect they will be ready to accompany me. In the evening, I took a walk to look if there could be a better landing place found, but could see none, without it was made with a great deal of labor.

“Thursday 13th.—Still very fine weather. Got the wet goods dried as well as I could, and the damaged casks, cases, &c., repaired. Sent Lieutenant Johnson with a boat to Niagara, in order to invite Major Walters, Mons. Dember, &c., to dine with me, and to get some provisions. About one, they arrived, and dined, at 2 o'clock. Then got very merry and returned. This day some Indians arrived here from Missillimackinac. I could not speak with them; they have come to trade.

“Friday 14th.—A good deal of rain; very sultry. Got over the rest of my boats, and some of the Royal Americans, provisions, &c. Nickus, the Mohawk, with his party encamped here last night. He told me he expected White Hame, his uncle, would be up with us in a day or two. Mr. Hutchinson, a trader, brought me letters from below, dated the 23d ult.; not any news.

“Saturday 15th.—Still rainy weather. Sent over nine waggons loaded with such articles as may receive least damage, and nine men with them. I had a long discourse with the Old Belt, and gave him an order on De Couagne for one pair of strouds, twenty pounds of penniston, six shirts, twelve pounds powder and ball, and one keg of rum—so finished with him. I wrote Captain Robertson to order the boats to be mended. Wrote for Wabbeomicot to come up, also Mr. Gambling if ready.—I wrote to Major Walters for one

Ct. of powder, provisions for forty, for 20 days—being for my family, and the Indians who accompany me. Received a letter from Captain Robinson letting me know that he had ordered another carpenter to work at my boats. Five Missillimackinac Indians came to me and begged to have their rum and goods carried over the carrying place. Agreed to it.

“*Sunday 16th, 1761.*—Rained early in the morning and all night, but cleared up about 6 o’clock. Had the waggons loaded and sent off. Major Walters, Captain Etherington, and Lieutenant Hay dined with me, and all got very merry.

“*Monday 17th.*—A little rain in the morning, but cleared up. Loaded all the waggons and set off myself and company for the other end of the carrying place, or Little Niagara, where Shabear Jean Cœur lived. In the afternoon two French canoes arrived from Detroit and Missillimackinac. They said all was quiet in those parts; that there were between twenty and thirty families living there; a little fort abandoned by the garrison; the Post La Bay eighty leagues distant from that. Went to the Island to see the vessel, and my battoe, which was repairing. Mr. Dies said in about a fortnight she might sail. The French traders met Major Gladwin this morning, entering the lake.

“*Tuesday 18th.*—Showery. I went to see the falls with Lieutenant Johnson, Johnny and Ensign Holmes. Returned at 9 o’clock, when I met Captain Slosser and Mr. Dembler at my tent. Mr. Dembler gave me a plan of Niagara and its environs. Wind contrary. I gave out orders for fitting up the boats so as to load them to-morrow and set off. Orders that all the boats keep in sight, and encamp together every night. At 11 o’clock, the last of the provisions came up with the waggons. Very heavy rain all the afternoon, so that there was no doing anything. My battoe not yet finished. Captain Slosser, Dembler, Dies, Robertson, &c., dined with me, and got pretty happy before they left me.

“*Wednesday 19th.*—A very wet, raw, disagreeable morning. No stirring the goods until we have fair weather. Mr. Breme was yesterday in the lake some miles, left by Mr. Robertson, who says he judges the south side of the lake best for me to go. I gave a French blanket to each of the Chippawas, to a Seneca, to an Oneida, to two Mohawks, and a pound of paint. Mr. Johnson, my son, Captain Slosser and his son, are going to the island to see the vessel, and to bring my boat over mended. I wrote to the general this day, and

gave the letter to Captain Slosser. Captain Walters very bad with the gout; obliged to leave him behind. As it holds up raining, I ordered the boats to be cleaned and loaded immediately. Mr. Dies spoke to me yesterday about the two islands, which he was of opinion would be a valuable thing in time. I promised him, if he could lay down, or think of a good plan or scheme, I would assist in getting them from the Indians. He said he would.

"At four o'clock embarked with the Royal American party, and the Yorkers, under the command of Lieutenant Ogden; the Royal Americans, commanded by Ensigns Slosser and Holmes, with four battoes, and the former with eight battoes and one birch canoe, with the Mohawks, &c., making in all thirteen boats. Mr. Gambling sent me word he would be here to-morrow morning in order to accompany me. Touched at the island as we passed along; then struck over to the south side of the river, and encamped on the large island by a creek about two miles and a half from the ship yard. The island is full of fine large oak, and very level, as far as I could see. By the creek mouth, a fine situation for a house and trade, there being a good harbor in the creek for boats.

"*Thursday 20th.*—Fine morning. Decamped at 5 o'clock from Point Pleasant. The creek does not divide the island; ends in a swamp or meadow. The end of the large island is within five miles of the entrance of the lake, which is very ragged and rocky, also narrow. We arrived there at 1 o'clock, dined, and waited till two for the rest of the boats; then set off, and encamped in a bay, about seven miles from the entrance. The lake about twenty miles broad at our encampment.

"*Friday 21st.*—Morning gloomy; embarked at 5 o'clock. Cleared up about 8 o'clock, with a northerly breeze. Halted and dined at a point about twenty-six miles in the lake, when the boats all came up, embarked again, and came to the Grand river, where we encamped. This is the first river we came to since our entrance into the lake. It is pretty large and navigable for canoes a great way. The Ottawas have two carrying places from this river to Lake Ontario, but are pretty long, one in particular. The lake here is so wide we could not see across. The goods for the present are very wet by the badness of the battoes, and want of oil cloths enough to cover them. There is a small island a little above the entrance of this river, which makes it very remarkable.

"*Saturday 22d.*—A very rainy morning; wind at N. E. One

of the Chippawas in [our] company, lives up this river, about half a day's journey, whom I intended to visit. I went about twelve miles up said river; very deep and still; about 150 yards wide, mostly N. W. and N. N. W. Where we turned back, the creek ran about west. Fine meadows on each side. Returned about 3 o'clock. Rained all the time. Mr. Gambling came up with us here.

"*Memoranda.*—To settle all my affairs when I get home, with regard to land, settling tenants, &c.

"To go to New York this winter to settle about my patent opposite to Canajoharie.

"To make out a plan for the management of Indian affairs, what officers, interpreters, &c., will be necessary, and what the expense of the whole will amount to; then send it to the board of trade, and ministry.

"To have my books and all my accounts properly settled; and all my tenants' accounts adjusted regularly and put into one book.

"To sow the several seeds I pick up in my way to Detroit.

"To give diversions at Detroit to the Indians, and also to the French, of the best sort, balls, &c.

To enquire of the governor at Detroit, how much land, in the French time, each man held, what rent they paid, to what use put, and to whom paid.

"Little summer houses to build in my gardens when I get home.

"To get my ten black beavers dressed and made up into a large blanket for a bed.

"To send Doctor Stevenson some present, and some few new books by Captain Etherington.

"I agreed with Mr. Harsen, of Albany, to work as gunsmith for the Indians who come to Niagara, at £100 currency per annum. Present Captain Slosser.

"*Sunday 23d.*—Embarked at 5 o'clock, with a strong N. Easterly wind. Sailed at the rate of six miles an hour. Reached the river Fiatro; a good harbor for any number of boats. Dined here, and at 2 o'clock embarked; wind still strong, but changed to the N. N. E. Have picked some seed like Piony, and at Grand river, seed of a weed good for a flux;¹ also here some black sand. Sailed at the rate of five miles an hour, until 5 o'clock. By the way, met two French canoes, which left Detroit four days ago, and met Major

¹ I. E., *dysentery*, the disease to which he was continually subject, and which finally caused his death.

Gladwin three days ago at the Grand Point or carrying place. We encamped at a little river near a long island, which is next to Point Bass and is called Buedel.

Monday 24th.—Embarked at 5 o'clock with a strong wind at N. E. Sailed at a great rate. Sea very high, especially to Point Bass, off which came a canoe of Mississengeys, nine in number, all naked. They only came to get something; then returned. At Point Bass, it makes a great bay, through which we sailed about ten miles to the Grand Point, where we were obliged to row and sail through bulrushes and a great meadow, to the bank which divides the lake; makes the Great Point the passage or carrying place, which is now cut open a little by Major Gladwin; is not above forty yards across. I had my boat first hauled over, and all the rest in half an hour. Then set off with a good breeze, and sailed along a kind of beach about sixteen miles; then along a high sand bank, about twenty miles more, where there is no harbor nor even landing for boats in case of bad weather, until we came to the river Alavar, which is a good harbor for boats. Here we encamped about 7 o'clock; about 8 o'clock my boats came up.

Tuesday 25th.—A fine morning; wind at N. E. Several bales of blankets, &c., being wet, I gave orders for halting here this day, in order to dry them and prevent their spoiling. About 8 o'clock, a boat appeared in sight, coming after us, which taking for Mr. Bream, I sent Lieutenant Johnson and Ensign Slosser in a boat to meet them, and know who they are, and where come from. At nine, Mr. Bream came to our camp. He had been round the Grand Point, which he says is twenty-two miles long from the carrying place; very low toward the end, which is swampy, and about two miles broad; lies mostly S. E., and is about a third of the lake in length. He set off again immediately, and is resolved to visit the islands toward the end of the lake. All that land along the lake very barren as far as I could see; timbered chiefly by white oaks. At 10 o'clock, Tom. Lottridge arrived here from Niagara, which he left the 21st inst., and brought me a large packet from General Amherst, with the news of the surrender of Belle Isle to his Britannic Majesty, the 7th of June last; also an account of our defeating the Cherokees the tenth of last July, and burning fifteen of their towns; also an account of the reduction of Pondicherry in the East Indies. On which I gave orders for the Royal Americans and Yorkers, at three o'clock, to be in arms, and fire three volleys, and give

three cheers; after which, each man is to have a dram to drink his majesty's health. I also acquainted the Indians with the news, who were greatly pleased at it. All the officers dined and spent the afternoon with me, and Mr. Gambling, the Frenchman, who got very drunk this night, and told me several things very openly.

" *Wednesday 26th.*—Fine morning; little or no wind. Embarked at 5 o'clock. Everything in pretty good order after yesterday's drying. The wind comes from the S. W., and rises pretty high, which obliges us to put into a river, called by the Indians Kanagio; by the French, river Sholdiere. It has been a settlement of Indians formerly, and a very pretty place. My boats have great difficulty to get up the river against the wind, and there is no sailing them out in the lake, or anywhere but in the river; the bank being so high for many miles that a man can but in a few places creep up with difficulty. Here I am obliged to lie by for the contrary wind, and shall employ the party the rest of the day drying the present. My boats did not arrive until night. They received no damage.

" *Thursday 27th.*—Cold morning; wind not favorable. Ordered to embark and try to make all the headway we can. The wind soon turned quite contrary and blew very hard. Met some French boats from Detroit, which they left ten days before, and are going to Montreal with skins and furs. They met Major Gladwin yesterday evening about fifteen leagues from here, and Mr Breme this morning. They told me Mr. Croghan had arrived at Detroit two days before they left it, with a few Shawanese, Delawares, &c. The cattle not yet come from Pittsborough. The wind still strong and quite ahead, with a great surf. Notwithstanding, I pushed on for a harbor—the bank being very steep and no rowing a boat without coming to a harbor; which at 6 o'clock we found at the end of a long point, called the Green——, ¹ where we were obliged to draw up our boats on a sandy beach. Here met with two birch canoes; one an Ottawa, the other a Chenundaddy, going a trading. I had them to smoke a pipe at my tent, when they told me that Mr. Croghan was arrived. They told me that nothing ever gave the nations living around their country greater pleasure than my going among them; that they were certain it would have a very good effect; and that all the surrounding nations were sent to attend the meeting on the arrival of the Chenundaddy messenger, who brought my belt of summons. They then begged that I would give them a few lines

¹ Illegible.

to have their goods and provisions carried over at Niagara Falls, which I complied with. They told me I would not see many young men of their nation, as they went to war, on my desire, last spring, against the Cherokees.

“Friday 28th.—A fine morning; wind northerly and pretty cold. Embarked at 5 o'clock, and proceeded to a beach near to Point a Pain; there dined, and saw where the light infantry had been mending their boats the day before. Then set off and rowed along the point, which is a fine sandy beach about ten miles, and very narrow, making a large bay to the westward. There is a carrying place at the north end of said beach, but hardly passable without more trouble than profit. Encamped at the end of the beach, near to the Highlands, which is eight leagues long. None of my boats, except the Royal Americans, yet come up. One of the present boats and Captain Montour's being left behind yesterday, I ordered Lieutenant Ogden of the Yorkers to wait for their coming up, and then to proceed with the whole. Wind moderate, and the wind lulled. A French canoe, going to Detroit, encamped near to us.

“Saturday 29th.—Fair weather; the wind contrary, being a shore wind, and we having the high banks or bluff shore to go along, which is eight leagues. Not one of the Yorker's boats yet in sight, so shall be delayed by them. My provision and everything is on board those. At 9 o'clock the wind blew very hard at S. W.; obliged to have our boats drawn up three times on shore from the surf. Rained a good deal until 12 o'clock, when the wind lulled a little. No account or sight of my store-boats yet. About 4 o'clock, the wind and surf much greater. My boats within four miles encamped, could not reach us; the swell being so great two of them almost filled with water, and spoiled some things. We are obliged to remain here this night. About eight at night, quite a storm with great lightning. Boats obliged to be pulled up as far as we could, and sentries to watch them.

“Sunday 30th.—Still very stormy weather; wind at W. N. W; no possibility of stirring, nor of getting the store-boats up. I was obliged to send two men to look for the boats, and to bring me some provisions and ammunition, what I had, being expended. I gave my own provisions to the Indians, who accompany me, theirs being in the boats behind. A great plenty of pigeons here; killed several.

“Monday 31st.—Fine weather; wind contrary. Embarked at 6 o'clock with the Royal Americans and my own boat, the others not

being come up. Turned the point which is about twelve miles from where we set off. A bank all along, very bad and steep. Dined and set off about 2 o'clock, and encamped on a beach above the highland, and within a couple of miles of the carrying place of Point Place. Lotteridge and Gambling gone to the portage. My boats not come up. Here is a large body of drowned land or swamp, with a river or creek through the middle (called River Du Cœur) but stopped up by the land at the lake side. A fine place for ducks, geese, &c. The light infantry encamped here, I believe, yesterday, by the fresh tracks. Blew hard in the night.

"Tuesday September 1st.—Fine morning; little or no wind. Embarked, and set off for the portage, where we arrived at 10 o'clock. Then went to the end of Point Place, which is but a very narrow ridge or bank of sand, about thirty yards wide for several miles. Then the said ridge continues for three or four miles into the lake almost due south, but just covered with water which breaks over it. About one hundred yards from the extremity of the sand point, is the best passage for boats,—water nearly two feet deep. There I dined, and seeing my boats in sight, encamped early for their coming up, having neither liquor, linnen or anything but what is on board the store boat. Have come about twelve miles from the Point Place to the high land. At 8 o'clock, the boats all arrived, except the one Montour is in. Rained and blew hard the most part of the night.

"Wednesday 2d.—Embarked at 6 o'clock, with N. N. E. wind. Sailed at a great rate, as the wind blew very fresh. Mostly high land to the entrance of the River Detroit, except here and there small beaches. At the entrance of the river appear islands to the westward, and a bunch of trees which is called Point Moire, being always wet. Encamped at 5 o'clock, opposite the end of Isle Bois Blanc, or White Wood Island. This island is about two miles in length, and half a mile in breadth; pretty ground and bank. On the east shore of the river, opposite said island, are about five hundred acres of clear land, which was planted by the Hurons twelve years ago; had two priests here, but left this for the place where they now live. It would make a very pleasant place for a settlement; land good, and a fine prospect of the lake, river, and island. There might be now mowed a vast quantity of hay. Here a fine hunting place all about it.

"Thursday 3d.—At 4 o'clock I arose, and wrote Mr. Croghan a

few lines by Mr. Gambling's canoe, to meet me about six miles this side of the fort with horses. I take Mr. Gambling in my boat. Fine morning, but cold, and the wind right ahead. Embarked at 7 o'clock, and on our way passed several fine islands and drowned meadows. About twelve, came to the house of Mr. Jarves of the militia, which is the best house I have seen in the neighborhood. Eat some melon there, and set off for Detroit, which is but a league from said house. Opposite to the Huron Town, and Pottawattamie village, saw Mr. Croghan and St. Martin, the interpreter, with horses expecting us. On coming farther, the Indian towns drew out and began to fire with cannon and small arms, which I returned by three volleys from the Royal American detachment; then went on shore and rode to town through a number of settlements. All along the road was met by Indians, and near the town, by the inhabitants, traders, &c. When I came to the verge of the fort, the cannon thereof were fired, and the officers of the garrison with those of Gage's Light Infantry received me, and brought me to see my quarters, which is the house of the late commandant Mr. ¹ Belestre, the best in the place. After having given directions for my baggage to be brought there, went to Campbell's quarters, where his officers and several of the French gentlemen were introduced to me. Hearing Major Gladwin was very ill, went with Captain Campbell to see him, and found him very ill. Then returned to my quarters, and supped that evening with Captain Campbell.

" *Friday 4th.*—Fine weather. I was all the forenoon taken up with receiving visits and compliments from the different nations of Indians, that came here to meet me, to whom I gave pipes, tobacco, and some drink. Dined with Captain Campbell, whom I desired to order a *feu de joie* on the great success of his Majesty's arms in the reduction of Belle Isle, and destroying so many villages of the Cherokees, which was done about 7 o'clock in the evening, having first acquainted all the Indians with the news, and the reason of firing; which they seemed greatly pleased at. The Ottawas and several other nations sent me word they would wait on me next morning to pay their respects. This afternoon, Captain Campbell went with me to Major Gladwin's quarters, and there we settled about the garrisoning the several posts in the best manner we possibly could, considering the bad situation of affairs, viz: the lateness of the season, the badness of the boats, and above all the scarcity of

¹ Picoté de Belletre.

provisions and ammunition, which Captain Campbell and Major Gladwin reported to me to be the case, the latter having lost all of his ammunition and a great part of his provisions in coming here. These circumstances, well weighed and considered, we unanimously agreed to send back — men of Gage's [Light Infantry] to Niagara, for provisions, as the vessels bringing provisions here are very precarious. The remainder to proceed with a garrison of an officer and thirty men for the fort of Missillimackinac and ten months' provisions; also an officer and fifteen men for St. Joseph; an officer and fifteen men for Warragthenhook, with as much provision as can possibly be spared; and an officer and fifteen men to relieve the Rangers at the Miami's post immediately; — Captain Campbell and Bellfore to settle and order the proper number of boats necessary for said service, and make an exact calculation of the quantity of provisions for said garrisons to-morrow morning, so that they may set off as soon as possible. I am greatly distressed for the want of provisions for the Indians, having received none from Fort Pitt as I expected; wherefore am obliged, at a very great expense, to purchase cattle and what I can get here.

"*Saturday 5th.*—A very wet morning; cleared up about 10 o'clock. This day I wrote to Ferrall Wade, which is to go by Lieutenant Ogden. Had [to dine with me] Captains Campbell, Bellfore, McCloud, eight or ten other officers, and Colonel Du Quesne and Major La Mott, his brother, who were my prisoners at Niagara. While the company were drinking, two of the head men of the Hurons came in to acquaint me that the women of their nation were all come to see and bid me welcome here to their country. On which they were introduced by Mr. Croghan, to the number of fifty, old and young. After saluting them, I ordered them a glass of wine and some biscuit, and drank their healths. They then told me, they had brought me some corn, the produce of their land, which they begged I would accept of. In return I ordered them a beef for their nation, which pleased them much. At parting they shook hands again, and bid farewell;—so ended their visit. In the morning all the principle inhabitants of Detroit, with their priest, came to pay their respects and desire protection. I returned the compliment, and gave them assurances of his Majesty's protection, while they continued to behave as good subjects. Then gave them rusk and shrub in plenty, which they made very good use of, and went away extremely well pleased — their priest at their head.

“ Sunday 6th.—A very fine morning. This day I am to dine with Captain Campbell, who is also to give the ladies a ball, that I may see them. They assembled at 8 o'clock at night, to the number of about twenty. I opened the ball with Mademoiselle Curie—a fine girl. We danced until five o'clock next morning. This day the Ottawas, by Mr. La Bute, interpreter, made me a speech, chiefly on the begging order, and to support the French interpreters. Answered them with a belt of wampum.

“ Monday 7th.—A fine morning. Montour not yet come, nor the mohawks. I shall send the interpreters this day to desire that all the nations may be ready to attend the meeting to-morrow, or next day at farthest. The Light Infantry and Royal Americans are making ready to set off to-morrow, or next day at farthest. I had all the Delaware, Shawanese, Six Nations, and Huron chiefs from the south side of the lakes this afternoon, when I told them I should speak to all on Wednesday, when I desired that they and all the other nations would be ready to attend. Gave them pipes, tobacco, and rum, for their whole number, and parted very friendly.

“ Tuesday 8th, 1761.—Fine morning. This day am about finishing what I have to do of the speech, which I am to make to-morrow to all the nations assembled here. Also making out instructions and orders for the officers going to command at Missillimackinae, St. Joseph, Miamis, &c. On examining the goods intended for the present, many are found to be rotten and ruined by badness of the boats, for want of a sufficient number of oil cloths, &c.; so that I shall be obliged to replace them, and add more goods to the present, the number of Indians being very great. In the afternoon, I had the two interpreters at my quarters, when I got Mr. Williams, of the light infantry, to tell them in French what I intended to say, which he did very distinctly.

“ Wednesday 9th.—Fine morning, but windy. I ordered all the seats to be made out of doors for the meeting, there being no house here half large enough to meet in. Received an account this morning of the loss of one of my store boats, which Montour was in.

“I ordered two cannon to be fired at 10 o'clock, as a signal for them all to assemble. This day, the Light Infantry and Royal Americans, which are to garrison the forts at Missillimackinae, La Bay and St. Joseph, set off with ten months' provision. I gave Mr. Lastly for Missillimackinae, about fifty pounds of tobacco out of my present. Nickus, of Canajoharie, arrived this morning, and

left Montour and Preston, with my small boat, yesterday, at the entrance of this river. What they had of my stores in their boat is all lost and ruined, having been, he says, cast away. About 10 o'clock, the Indians were all met, when I went there with Captain Campbell and all his officers, the officers of the Light Infantry, all the merchants and principal people of the town. Mr. Croghan, Lieut. Johnson, Mr. Breme, Mr. Mya from Pittsborough, Mr. Bostwick from Missillimaackinac, Mr. Bute and St. Martin, Interpreters, the former to the Ottawas, the latter to the Hurons, Printup only as spectator. After the speech was delivered, I arose, and with the gentlemen went to dinner at my quarters, where, about 5 o'clock, the Hurons, Ottawas, &c., came to the amount of thirty chiefs, to let me know that they understood the Indians from the south side of Lake Erie were determined, to return, having heard what I had to say; and that, therefore, they would now, while said Indians were here, let me know how that war-belt was sent here. I thanked them for their honesty and readiness, but told them it was better to have it mentioned in public, when I received an answer from all the nations. To this they agreed, and said that as some chiefs of each nation might take to drinking, they would be glad to answer on the morrow; and desired two guns might be fired, as on this day, whereby they might all assemble and finish;—to which I readily agreed, and promised them it should be done accordingly. Gave them pipes, tobacco and some liquor,—then parted.

“*Thursday 10th.*—Fine weather. My quarters full of Indians of different nations about little affairs of their own, which I settled. After that, a very honest Seneca Indian came and told me what he had heard among his relations living here, which he delivered very ingenuously, and seemed to me to be very just. No account yet of Montour or the boat's crew. This day I wrote by Captain McCloud to Major Walters for ammunition, provisions, and an officer, sergeant and ten men for the garrisoning one of the posts, viz: Miamis or Miamis Wawiaghtanook. Yesterday Captain Balfour with one hundred and twenty of Gage's, [Light Infantry] set off with the Royal Americans for Missillimaackinac, &c. I wrote the general this day by Captain McCloud. In the afternoon, the Indians all assembled, and gave their answer to my speech made the day before, which was very satisfactory. After all was over, the White Mingo came to my quarters where all the gentlemen were with me, and desired I would return to the meeting, as he and the Six Nations from Ohio had something to

say in answer to what the Hurons had charged them with. We all returned to the council, where we found every nation by themselves. Then Kaiaghshota, a Seneca chief, and one who accompanied the two messengers who came here with the war axe to the Hurons, stood up, and with great oratory and resolution, endeavored to clear himself of the imputations laid to his charge, when one of the Hurons named Adariaghta, the chief warrior of the nation, confronted him and the White Mingo, and discovered everything which had passed. Upon which, the White Mingo told them that they had come several times to him at Ohio, and pressed him and others living there to fall upon the English, which he as often refused. After a great deal of altercation I got up, and desired that they would not go to too great lengths, being now joined in stricter friendship and alliance than ever. Left them liquor and broke up the meeting, telling them I intended next day delivering them some goods, &c., which I had brought up for their use, and desired they would be punctual as soon as the cannon was fired. They thanked me, and promised they would be ready to attend—parted. Supped with Cole and went to bed early.

“Friday 11th.—Fine morning. At 6 o’clock, Mr. Croghan set about cutting up the present, and making proper divisions thereof for the several nations. This morning, I gave Baby’s daughter a present, her father being a principal sachem of the Hurons. Went to the meeting about 12 o’clock, where the Indians were all assembled to the number of five hundred and odd, when the Delawares and Shawanese made a speech. After that, I made a reply to what all the nations had answered yesterday, as [will appear] by records. Then gave them the present, divided in nine parts. After that went to dinner; and after dinner, about forty of the Chippawas, who had just arrived, came to see me, and made a friendly speech with a string of wampum, assuring me of their firm resolution of abiding by us, and complying with everything proposed by me, and agreed to by the rest. Gave them pipes, tobacco, and rum; then they departed. This day I ordered to be laid aside a good many things for the Huron sachems, Delawares, Shawanese, &c., and am to speak to them separately my opinion and advice.

“Saturday 12th.—Very fine weather and warm. I had meetings with the several nations of Ottawas, Shaganoos, Chippewas, &c., who made many demands and requests for their several nations, and gave the strongest assurances of being happy in what I said,

and of their adhering inviolably to the promises and engagements entered into here, as did the Delawares, Shawanese, &c., by belts and strings. I then sent for the White Mingo alias Kanaghragait, and the Seneca who accompanied Tabaiadoris here with the Seneca's message, named Kaiaghshota, to whom I said a great deal concerning the late design of the Indians in their quarter; set forth the madness of it, and desired them, by a large string of wampum, to reform and repent, which they assured me they and all their people, would pay the strictest observance to; then condoled the Seneca who was killed by our troops stealing horses, with two black strouds, two shirts, and two pair of stockings; gave them their liquor, I promised, and parted. This morning four of the principal ladies of the town came to wait on me. I treated them with rusk and cordial. After sitting an hour, they went away. This day, I gave private presents to chiefs of sundry nations. At 9 o'clock at night a York officer arrived at my quarters, express from Niagara in sixteen days, with letters from General Amherst, and the belt, which the Senecas sent here, to desire the Hurons, &c., to join against the English.

"Sunday 13th.—Very fine weather. I had a meeting with the Chippawa nation at my quarters, who spoke with two large bunches of wampum, giving me the strongest assurances imaginable of their resolution to live in the strictest friendship, and that the speeches I had made to them, and the manner I had treated them and all the nations here, convinced them that I was their friend. They then said my presence had made the sun and sky bright and clear, the earth smooth and level, the roads all pleasant, and the lakes placid, and begged I would continue in the same friendly disposition toward them, and they would be a happy people. They then prayed to have a plentiful and fair trade, which I promised them; gave them a beef, liquor, &c., and parted very happy and well pleased. At 10 o'clock, Captain Campbell came to introduce some of the town ladies to me at my quarters, whom I received and treated with cakes, wine and cordial. Dined at Campbell's. In the evening, several Indians came to my quarters to bid me farewell.

"Monday 14th.—Fine weather. This day I am to have all the principal inhabitants to dine with me; also Captain Campbell to have a meeting with the Hurons, and give their chiefs a private present; also to settle with the two French interpreters and pay them. I took a ride before dinner up toward the Lake St. Clair.

The road runs along the river side, which is all settled thickly nine miles. A very pleasant place in summer, but at other seasons too low and marshy. The French gentlemen and the two priests who dined with us got very merry. Invited them all to a ball to-morrow night, which I am to give to the ladies.

"*Tuesday 15th.*—Fine weather. This day settled all accounts. Paid La Bute one hundred dollars for interpreting all the time for Captain Campbell; to St. Martin one hundred dollars for the same; to Doctor Anthony ———.¹ I had the three Huron interpreters here at my lodging, and Aaron, also St. Martin, when I thanked them kindly for their conduct in the affair of the war-belt offered by the Six Nations' deputies this summer; strongly recommended to them a steady and uniform adherence to all the advice I had given them, and told them I looked upon them as the head of the Ottawa Confederacy. Having lighted up a council-fire, I desired they would take care to keep it in good order, and not neglect their friends and allies, as the Six Nations have done, notwithstanding all my admonitions. Cautioned them against evil minded people or their wicked schemes; laid before them the danger of quarreling with the English; all which they thanked me for, and promised to pay the strictest attention to all I said. They then let me know that the Senecas had given another war-belt to the Shawanese, who told them that they would act as the Hurons had done. They then let me know that they would, on the morrow, return an answer to the speech of the Mohawks, and for that end, desired a gun to be fired in order to assemble the Ottawas, Pottawattamies, &c., to the meeting. Then ordered up a very good private present, and dismissed them. In the evening, the ladies and gentlemen all assembled at my quarters, danced the whole night until 7 o'clock in the morning, when all parted very much pleased and happy. promised to write Mademoiselle Curie as soon as possible my sentiments; there never was so brilliant an assembly here before.

"*Wednesday 16th.*—Still fair weather, wind contrary for us. I ordered all the baggage to be packed up, and every thing ready to embark to-morrow. About eleven, the Huron chiefs arrived, and acquainted me that they waited for the other nations, who, when assembled, would acquaint me, and come to my quarters. I am to dine this day with Captain Campbell. About one o'clock, the Hurons,

¹ Illegible.

Ottawas, Pottawattamies, Chippawas, &c., met at my quarters, and made several speeches, large and full of gratitude, as by the minutes of this day's conference will appear. They also answered to the Mohawk belts, with which they had spoken to all the nations the tenth inst; and delivered them a calumet to be kept and smoked out of at our council at the Mohawk's;—the smoke of which will reach the most distant nations. This calumet was delivered by the Chippawas, and a bunch of green painted wampum to me, wherewith to dispel all clouds, and to clear all about us. I gave out private presents to the four chiefs of the Hurons, which were very considerable, and pleased them much. Nickus, the Mohawk, desired I would take home the pipe, belts, and strings, and deliver them to the sachems of the two Mohawk castles.

“Thursday 17th.—I counted out, and delivered to Mr. Croghan some silver works, viz; one hundred and fifty ear-bobs, two hundred brooches or breast buckles, and ninety large crosses all of silver, to send to Ensign Gorrel of the Royal Americans, posted at La Bay on Lake Michigan, in order to purchase therewith some curious skins and furs for General Amherst and myself. Also gave Mr. Croghan some silver works as a present for himself to the amount of about forty pounds,—he having given me many presents of Indian kind. This day I am to give an answer to what the Indians said yesterday, and to set off, if I can, after visiting Major Gladwin, Irwin, &c.

“I set off about 4 o'clock in my boat, when the guns of the fort were fired. Arrived at the Huron castle soon, where the Indians were drawn up and saluted. Encamped here; visited the Priest Pierre Pottie; took a ride with Captain Jarvis in his chair; supped with St. Martin, the Jesuit, La Bute, &c., and went to the Huron's council room, where they had every thing in good order and three fires burning. I here delivered them an answer to what they had said the day before, as will appear by the minutes of this day. Then broke up.

“Friday 18th.—Fine cool morning. As my store boat did not come up last night, I dispatched my own battoe to Detroit in order to help and hurry them down here, so as to set off, having finished everything. Captain Jarvis is to have three chairs here this morning, for us to ride to the end of the settlement, being about six miles. This is a beautiful situation, and a dry, healthy place. At 9 o'clock, the chiefs of the Hurons met at my tent and returned an answer to all I said last night, in the most friendly manner, as will

appear by the minutes of this day in the records. I then gave them twenty kettles full of tobacco, about fifty damaged blankets, twenty pounds of powder and silver works, which greatly pleased them all. Captain Campbell, several officers of the Light Infantry, French and traders, came over to take leave of me and were present at the meeting; also the priest. Treated them and the Indians; set off my boats; and went with three chairs to Captain Jarvis' where we took breakfast. Madame Jarvis accompanied us to our boats. In our way, called in at several houses to see some of the principal inhabitants. Dined with the company out of doors. Parted [from] them all at this place, which is called Isle de ——. Set off at one, and encamped. At the west end of the lake, about two miles into the lake is the large island; nine leagues long and two miles broad; in several places very rocky; worth taking up, and also Isle Bois with one thousand acres of land on the east shore, where the Hurons formerly lived. The Indians and inhabitants were all very kind, and extremely pleased with all that was done at this meeting. We left their country with the greatest credit.

“Saturday 19th.—Fine morning. I took my first dose of electuary. Embarked at 6 o'clock, and went about five miles, where we were obliged to put ashore for a head wind, having taken in some water. Where we encamped is a drowned, swampy country, as is the west end of the lake for the most part. The lake runs generally S. S. W., at the end. Embarked at 1 o'clock, the wind being a little abated. Got to Stony Point. There the wind sprung up very fresh, and the waves ran very high, so that we took in water several times. Encamped at the next point from the Stony point, which is about nine miles distant. The wind still very high, and some of my boats not able to come up to me.

“Sunday 20th.—Fine weather, but wind contrary till 12 o'clock; then embarked, and crossed a great bay to Cedar Point. About the middle of the bay, almost opposite the Miami river,¹ is a small island, and about five leagues to the E. of said island, is another larger in sight. This is the largest or deepest bay I have seen; and the end of the lake, near the Miami river, is about five leagues or more across. We crossed it with fine moderate weather, and encamped on Cedar Point, where I cut some cedar sticks to bring home. It is a pleasant encampment, and plenty of game. I gathered sand

¹ Now known as the *Maumee* — corruption of Miami.

and shells here. It is about twenty-four miles from here to the camping place of Sandusky, which is a mile and a half across; from thence six miles to the Indian village.

"Monday 21st.—Set off from Cedar Point at 6 o'clock. Rowed till three[against] a contrary wind, along a narrow, low, sand beach, with drowned land and meadows within side—full of ducks and geese. Arrived at the carrying-place of Sandusky, which is on the east side of a fine river; which river runs S. W., and is pretty large. Encamped here, as none of my boats are in sight. It is a pleasant place, and full of game. There is an island about ten miles off bearing about N. E., near the end of the point of land, which makes the carrying-place. A Tawa¹ canoe came to us here, and gave me two wild geese. He had a scalp and belt hoisted in his canoe, which he took this last spring from the Cherokees. About six and seven o'clock my boats all arrived. I gave orders to set off early the next morning, so as to get round.

"Tuesday 22d.—I sent my boats round the point, and ordered them encamped at the east side of the entrance of Lake Sandusky into Lake Erie, which is about a mile across—there to wait my coming. Then I crossed the carrying-place which is almost opposite one of the Wyandot towns, about six miles across the lake here. I sent Mr. Croghan to the Indian town, and went down the lake in a little birch canoe to the place where the block house is to be built by Mr. Myer. This place is about three leagues from the mouth of Lake Sandusky, where it disembogues itself into Lake Erie. They have a view of all boats which may pass or come in from said post. It is about three miles from another village of Hurons, and fifteen by water from the one opposite to the carrying-place, and nine by land. The Pennsylvania road comes by this post. This is one hundred and seventy miles from Presque Isle, and forty miles from Detroit. In the afternoon, set off from the post in the little canoe, and desired Mr. Croghan to follow me directly in order to give him what things I reserved for some Tawas, who received nothing at Detroit. I arrived at the encampment at sunset, when I ordered all the things to be left out and ready for morning.

"Wednesday 23d.—Stormy weather; wind N. W. Very rough sea; we cannot move. Last evening Mr. Croghan and Mr. Myer came to our camp and brought me a birch canoe. I gave Mr. Cro-

¹ Contraction for Ottawa.

ghan his instructions, a memorandum for some things, and a letter for Colonel Bouquet with the regulations for trade for Pittsborough. This morning delivered Mr. Croghan all the silver works for Sir William,¹ Killbuck, and Jacob, three Delaware chiefs. Also what goods I have for about thirty Tawas. I sent my watch by Mr. Croghan to have it mended at Philadelphia. Then he parted [from] me about 9 o'clock, as did Mr. Myer. I gave the Tawas' two sons two silver gorgets which pleased them much. The wind very high all the day and rises toward night. No stirring with my craft. In the night the wind blew so hard that we were all afloat in our encampment and beds, and could not move anywhere else, being on a sandy beach between two waters.

"*Thursday 21st.*—A very stormy morning. Wind hard at N. E. No possibility of stirring. I was obliged to move my camp into the woods about two hundred yards back, being all in the water. When first encamped, the sea washed over us. Everything quite wet. Last night a Tawa squaw came into my tent, quite wet, having fallen into the lake at 11 o'clock at night. About 2 o'clock P. M. began to rain very hard, which I hope will lower the wind.

"*Friday 25th.*—The weather cleared up a little, and the wind lulled a good deal, but a great gust yet remaining and swell. Embarked at 11 o'clock. The swell yet very great. One of my boats wrecked, but fitted her up in a manner so as to get her along. At a river within fifteen miles of Sandusky Lake, I saw three wolves on shore who had driven a fine buck into the lake, which I shot through the head; and in the evening, I divided it among the party and Indians; it was enough for them all. The horns, skin and sinews I took with me as a trophy. Encamped about 6 o'clock; my boats all behind. The last or broken boat came up about 8 o'clock at night.

"*Saturday 26th.*—Fine, mild morning; not the least wind. Embarked at six of the clock and intend to beach near to Cayahoga this day. The Seneca tells me there is a good deal of high or steep banks to pass by this day, where there is no getting on shore. I found it so for the most part of this day's journey. Very bad banks, indeed, of rock and some places clay; very steep and high. The wind turned fair about 11 o'clock, and blew steady all the remainder of this day, which made this day's journey nearly forty miles. Encamped before six o'clock, on a beach. Pleasant enough. One

¹ Probably named after Sir William.

boat behind a great way. We have a long point to turn to-morrow morning. This side of the lake from Sandusky is very full of turns and points running northward or rather N. Easterly. We came about thirty-six miles.

“Sunday 27th.—A fine morning. I got up at 4 o'clock, and made ready to embark, so as to get as far as possible this fine weather. We rowed all day, the wind ahead. We passed two little rivers and some beaches for boats to go in; but the bank in general is steep. Arrived a little before sunset at a river, the entrance of which is very shallow and rapid, but deep fourteen or fifteen feet when you get in, and about one hundred yards wide. We came this day nearly thirty miles. My baggage-boats behind a considerable way.

“Monday 28th.—About 6 o'clock, my two boats came up and set off. We embarked immediately, the weather very good, but no wind; the day very warm. Passed three or four creeks and other good harbors for boats in case of bad weather. At 6 o'clock, encamped in a very good creek and safe harbor. The creek about fifty yards wide, and pretty deep; two very steep hills at the entrance thereof; and the water of it of a very brown color. We came this day about thirty miles by our reckoning. The banks, this day's journey, are not quite so steep as those we passed these two days.

“Tuesday 29th.—At 6 o'clock embarked, and found the channel into this creek, but shallow. Sailed the greatest part of the day, with a good westerly wind; passed two or three creeks and some good beaches for landing. About two o'clock, appeared in sight the point near Presque Isle, which we did not expect was so near. About half after four arrived at the landing place, where we had a good deal of difficulty in landing on account of the great swell and surf which beat upon the beach. Got the boats and everything over this evening, but in a very wet condition. The fort of Presque Isle is about eight miles from here. This carrying-place is a sandy beach about one hundred yards across into a rushy bay. The neck or peninsula is eight miles long or thereabouts, and a mile over from the fort; the entrance is not the best.

“Wednesday 30th.—Wind ahead or N. East. Set off at 7 o'clock, and arrived at Presque Isle block house about 9 o'clock. Captain Cockran, who commanded here, went yesterday for his health to Niagara. Met Mr. Jenkins of the Royal Americans here from Niagara, going to Detroit, in order to command at Wawiahtenhook. He delivered me some letters and newspapers, but nothing very mate-

rial. I gave some Chippawas some ammunition, tobacco, &c., who were in fact in great want of them. Dined with the officers, and after dinner intended to have set off, but the wind blew too hard ahead, so encamped here. Swapped my gun with a Chippewa Indian for a French gun. Gave the Indians a keg of rum to drink the king's health.

Thursday October 1st.—Embarked at 7 o'clock, with the wind strong ahead. Continued so all the day; notwithstanding improved all day and got to Jadaghque creek and carrying place, which is a fine harbor and encampment. It is very dangerous from Presque Isle here, being a prodigious steep, rocky bank all the way, except two or three creeks and small beaches, where a few boats may run into. There are several very beautiful streams of water or springs, which tumble down the rocks. We came about forty miles this day. The fire was burning yet where Captain Cockran, I suppose, encamped at last night. Here the French had a baking-place, and here they had meetings, and assembled the Indians when first going to Ohio, and bought this place of them. *Toonadawanusky*, the river we stopped yesterday at, is so called.

Friday 2d.—A very stormy morning; wind not fair; however, sent off my two baggage-boats, and ordered them to stop about thirty miles off in a river. The Seneca Indian tells me, we may get this day to the end of the lake. I embarked at 8 o'clock with all the rest, and got about thirty miles, when a very great storm of wind and rain arose, and obliged us to put into a little creek between the high, rocky banks. The wind turned N. W., and rained very hard. We passed the Mohawks in a bay about four miles from here. Some of our boats are put into other places as well as they can. My bedding is on board the birch canoe of mine with the Indians somewhere ahead. The lake turns away greatly to the north-east and looks like low land. From Presque Isle here, is all high bank except a very few spots where boats may land. In the evening, sent the Oneida to the Mohawks' encampment to learn what news below.

Saturday 3d.—A very stormy morning; rained and blew all the night prodigious hard. About 8 o'clock this morning the Mohawks came to my tent, and told me what news they had. They desired me to acquaint their people that they intend to hunt this winter at Cherage creek and return early in the spring. Aaron says he may go to Sandusky. Hance will not go farther but return to

Niagara, and will wait there for the other. I met them at Kanan-daweron. They were all well and out about forty-eight days to this time. They parted from me about 12 o'clock, when the wind began to abate. At two, ordered my boats to be made ready in order to set off as soon as the weather and roughness of the lake may allow. We are now about thirty miles from the entrance of the river, where the vessel lies. Set off at 3 o'clock with all the boats except two, which separated yesterday in the storm. We rowed and sailed till night, and could find no harbor; so continued rowing till eight at night, when we got into a bay within — miles of the river's mouth. We very narrowly escaped a parcel of breakers after night, about two hundred yards from the shore, which was near demolishing us. Neither of my two baggage-boats seen or heard of yesterday.

“*Sunday 4th.*—Very fine morning. The land on the other side of the lake in view. Embarked at 7 o'clock, and rowed near shore about six miles. Then set off across for the river, where we met Captain Robinson sounding. It is three, four, and five fathoms water near the mouth of the river. We went on board the schooner which lay about a mile from the entrance of the lake in the river, where the current runs six knots an hour. She has about ninety barrels of provisions on board, and twenty-four barrels for Gage's sutler. Captain Robinson told us that the garrison of Niagara, himself and crew, were lately within a day or two of abandoning the fort, vessel, &c., when provisions arrived from Oswego. Dined on board, and left the vessel about 5 o'clock, and encamped about ten miles down the river. One boat yet behind since the storm.

“*Monday 5th.*—Embarked, and called to see Jno. Dies on the island, where he is building a sloop, which will not be finished this season, he says, as he goes down in a fortnight, his men being sickly. Arrived at Little Niagara about 10 o'clock, and got over on horse-back myself, and got waggons to carry over as many of my boats, baggage, &c., as I could. Then set off in an old boat for Niagara, where I was met at 8 o'clock at night by the water-side, by Major Walters and all the officers. Supped with the Major, and took up my old lodgings.

“*Tuesday 6th.*—I wrote Ferrall Wade by a trader. Heard the state of the garrison here, which is very bad for want of provisions, having but six days' flour. The Major, De Couagne, &c., complain of Sterling monopolizing the trade by keeping a great store of goods at Little Niagara, which will prevent any Indians coming to the

fort, or under the eye of the garrison, so that they [i. e. Stirling and others] may cheat the Indians as much as they please, in spite of all regulations.

" *Wednesday 7th.*—Fine warm weather. Doctor Stevenson visited me yesterday, and gave me some bottles of curious liquor for my own use. I returned the compliment. My boats are not yet arrived, which will detain me this day. Captain Cockran desires to go in company with me to Oswego, which I agreed to. He is going to the doctor or surgeon of the hospital there. This day I clothed and discharged the Seneca Indian who accompanied me to Detroit. Ordered my party to be ready to set off to-morrow. This day the little schooner appeared in sight, and with a contrary wind was obliged to work in by tripping. She brought forty barrels of flour, but no news or letters for me. The garrison of Oswego, Major Duncan writes, has but nine days flour. This evening, the Seneca who accompanied me to Detroit, came and received his present, when he told me that the Coghnawegeys, Ottawas, &c., had a council at Onondaga in the spring, at which they entreated the Six Nations to rise and join them against the English, who were now overrunning the country and oppressing them everywhere where there was a garrison; that it was easy now to do it in Canada, being thin and dispersed. The Six Nations, he says, refused, and told them that as the English had conquered their Father the French, they must be content and bear it. Besides they, the Six Nations, had no reason to regard anything the Coghnawegeys said, as they of late acted independent of them. He says that the Coghnawegeys and four other nations came and called a council a second time at Onondaga, at which they begged that all the warriors would be present. He says, they did accordingly attend, but does not know the result, as it was about the time he went with me to Detroit, but assures me that if his father, the Old Belt, desires him, he will bring me all the news, and what the result of the council was.

" *Thursday 8th.*—Fine morning, but windy. Settled everything here. Dined with Major Walters, and at 5 o'clock embarked. Sea very high, and wind still rising. About half after six, put ashore at Petite Marie with difficulty, and encamped here. My birch canoe not come up; a very stormy night; wind at N. N. W. The schooner was to have sailed at 4 o'clock, but could not get out for the wind and swell.

" *Friday 9th.*—Wind at N. E.; very strong; no stirring with the

boats. This is a fair wind to carry the vessel into Lake Erie, if ever she can get in. I gave Collin Andrews and Barret Visger a pass for three canoes to La Bay, which Captain Campbell is to pay me £5 for. My birch canoe is just come up with difficulty. Lieutenant Hay and De Couagne came to see me, and went back at sunset.

"*Saturday 10th.*—Still blustering weather; wind contrary. The vessel came out, and makes but little way. I never passed so bad a night with a pain in my right thigh, and cold night. This day shall set off if possible. The wind increased to a degree that the vessel was obliged to put back to Niagara. Mr. Johnson gone to Niagara for half a dozen pounds of powder, ours being wet. I took physic this morning which purged me tolerably. Major Walters came to see me, and spent the afternoon. I never had a worse night than this in my life.

"*Sunday 11th.*—A fine morning; wind ahead. Major Walters came to see me, but I was ill abed, so he went away. At half after nine set off. Sea rough and wind ahead. Put into a creek about two miles from hence, a very fine harbor. About twelve, a birch canoe came to us from Oswego. They were from Cayuga, and were going a hunting to Sandusky. I gave them some tobacco and pipes, which they were much pleased with. One of them is a Sappony, and was at the East town meeting. He could tell me nothing except that it was about land affairs. Last night three Senecas came to me for powder, having got none at Niagara; gave them also pipes and tobacco. I was very bad all this day and night with pains in my thigh and downwards, so that I could not walk or stand up without help, nor sleep a wink.

"*Monday 12th.*—A fine morning, but cold and contrary wind; the sea too rough to move, and our provisions growing very short. A Seneca chief came to my encampment, and was, on my desire and using him kindly, very open and candid with regard to the late conspiracy of the Senecas, which I got Lieutenant Johnson to take down in writing. Gave him some powder, clothing, and a letter to Major Walters to use him kindly. He, with some others of his nation, have with them several horses, in order to deliver them agreeably to my desire, on my way to Detroit. About one o'clock embarked, and got to a large creek and harbor for any number of boats, about fourteen miles from Niagara Fort. We espied a sail from Oswego, and sent Lieutenant Johnson on board to ask for letters and some provisions for my party, having but four days [pro-

visions]. He returned at nine at night; found it to be a sloop loaded chiefly with provisions for Niagara from La Gallette, viz: three hundred and ninety barrels of pork and flour, some live stock, &c. No letter for me, but brought a barrel of pork and one of flour for the men. I had a very bad night of it, with a pain of my thighs.

“*Tuesday 13th.*—A fine morning, but the wind still ahead, and a great swell and surf, so that there is no stirring early. Wherefore ordered my boat, which is become very leaky by carrying over at Niagara, to be corked and pitched as well as they can. The master of the sloop says that there is a considerable quantity of provisions at Fort William Augustus; and that the Provincials are all to leave Oswegotties creek and go home, their time having almost expired. I took physic this day, which worked pretty well. My pain ceased a good deal this night.

“*Wednesday 14th.*—A fine morning, with a smart white frost. I ordered the boats to be loaded, and set off at 6 o'clock; the wind yet pretty contrary. I saw a good many geese this morning. Passed by several good harbors and creeks. The wind lulled, and we rowed about thirty miles to a small creek, where I encamped on the bank, in the woods. This day met a trader's boat. They had been twelve days from Oswego; and said the news of a peace had reached Oswego. My pains have abated a good deal since yesterday, but my cough continues as bad as usual.

“*Thursday 15th.*—A fine frosty morning as yesterday; little or no wind. The schooner from Niagara passed by for Oswego. Embarked at 7 o'clock. About ten the wind turned in our favor, but it was a very small breeze. About one o'clock, passed Johnson's Harbor, and several good creeks for boats. At four, arrived at Prideaux's Bay, which we found shut up. Nevertheless encamped here on the beach. The pain of my thigh is very much abated, but my cough as usual, having nothing to take for it.

“*Friday 16th.*—Fine morning; not cold. I got up at 3 o'clock, in order to set off early, the wind being tolerably fair and fresh. Embarked at 6 o'clock, and got to Irondequot at a half an hour after nine. It is about fifteen miles distant; the Seneca river about midway. I stopped at Irondequot, and went shooting for about an hour and a half. Then embarked, and with a fair wind got within six or eight miles of Sodus about 7 o'clock, where I had my boats drawn up and encamped in an Indian encampment. Bourke kept on with my baggage-boats to Sodus.

Saturday 17th.—Very fine weather; wind pretty fair. We embarked at 7 o'clock, after having refreshed the men and given them two days provision, and set off for Sodus, which is in sight and in appearance not above six miles off. This is the only harbor along the south side of the lake for vessels. It is thirteen feet deep over the bar. From Sodus to Oswego, very steep banks and few good harbors for boats. This was a very warm day, as was yesterday. We arrived within two miles of Oswego about sundown, and encamped on the gravelly beach. About twelve at night, began to rain; surf abated.

Sunday 18th.—A fine warm day. Embarked at 7 o'clock, and arrived at Oswego about eight. Found all well there, and the works in a good deal of forwardness. Dined at Major Duncan's, who complained greatly at the scarcity of flour, and the slowness of its being sent up. Walked round the fort and gardens. The former is very neat as far as finished. It will take another season to finish it. Supped with Major Duncan, Captain Cockran, &c. The latter is to take his passage with me to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock. Doctor Barr is to make up some things for me to take along. I crossed the river at eleven at night and went to my tent, where I found all my boats' crew drunk.

Monday 19th.—A fine, pleasant morning. I set off at 9 o'clock and arrived at half way creek at twelve, where I found several huts and a house, which were built for parties who cut timber here. I was obliged to wait here all the day, without victuals or drink, my boats not having come up. An Indian of Cayuga told me that the Chenusios has pressed the other nations to join them in a war against the English, which they all refused, and advised the Chenusios to defer doing anything until I returned, and they knew what was done among the western and Ottawa nations by me. He said the Englishman was speaker, and that the Six Nations expect that I will call them all down to my house, as soon as I get home. Their being debarred the use of powder, or liberty of purchasing it by General Amherst, is the chief cause of their discontent, as they are perishing for the want of it. I have seen a Cayuga Indian pay at Oswego yesterday four salmon (which they sell for a dollar apiece) for about half a pound of powder, which is thirty-two shillings, or three pounds four shillings for a pound. My boats came up at 11 o'clock in the night, with all my baggage wet.

Tuesday 20th.—A fine morning. Embarked at 8 o'clock, and

arrived at the Falls at 11 o'clock. Got over everything. At five P. M., dined with Ensign Meut, and embarked at 6 P. M., and encamped on the little island. I walked from the half way creek to the Falls, which increased the pain of my thigh greatly.

" *Wednesday 21st.*—A fine morning, and warm day. Embarked at 8 o'clock. At the Three River Rift, met Sir Robert Davis and Captain Etherington, who gave me a packet of letters from General Amherst, and a copy of a treaty held at Easton, in August, by Mr. Hamilton of Philadelphia, and some scattering Indians about that part of the country; all of little or no consequence. Encamped about three miles above the Three Rivers. Captain Etherington told me Molly was delivered of a girl; that all were well at my house, where they stayed two days.

" *Thursday 22d.*—Very wet morning. Rained almost all the night pretty hard, and all the day incessantly, so that we could not move. There is some very good land about the Three Rivers on both sides.

" *Friday 23d.*—A raw, cold morning after the rain. Ordered my boats to be made ready, and embarked at 8 of the clock. Rained a little all day. Met several sutlers' and traders' boats going to Oswego. Arrived at Fort Brewerton at 5 o'clock. Supped with Lieutenant Brown, who told us General Amherst was to go home, and the army to go to Mississippi; by whom commanded he did not know. Yesterday at 12 o'clock, there was such a storm as emptied the river by this post of water, so that several salmon and other fish were left dry for a while.

" *Saturday 24th.*—Rained this morning, and from 12 o'clock last night, so that I hope the water will be good in Wood creek. The wind fair for crossing the lake. Ordered the boats ready to embark. Very raw, cold, and wet weather. I was very full of pain all night with my old wound. Embarked at 9 o'clock. Wind turned ahead after we got about eight miles into the lake, and continued so all the day. Arrived at the royal block house at the E. end of Oneida lake after sunset. Went to the fort and supped with Captain Baw, Gray and Mr. Burns. At 8 o'clock went to camp and drank a few glasses of Maderia with Mr. Burns, &c., and went to bed early as usual.

" *Sunday 25th.*—A wet morning; rained almost all the night. Drew two days provision for the party, ordered my boats ready, and embarked at 10 o'clock. Very wet, disagreeable day, but very good

water. Encamped near the Oak Field about 5 o'clock. Rained very hard, and little or no fire. Some of the Oneida chiefs came and told me how the affair, which Captain Baw complained of, happened. As they relate it I don't think they were to blame, having only desired a little provision as usual, and that the garrison would not fish in the creek which comes by their village, but leave that to them, and they might fish anywhere else they pleased. I gave them a long lesson and desired they would behave well, and live in friendship with their brethren everywhere, which they promised to do. I gave them some tobacco and pipes, and so parted.

"Monday 26th.—A dark, gloomy morning, after a very wet night. Rains still a little. The Wood creek very high, so that I expect to reach Fort Stanwix this day. Embarked at 8 o'clock. Reached the Oak Field by half after nine o'clock; got up to Canada creek about twelve. From thence to the sluice at Fort Bull, where we met with great difficulty getting up and through, the sluice being out of order. Set off for New-Post, where we arrived about eight at night. Were obliged to have candles lighted in our boats to drag and get up as well as we could. Lieutenant Johnson and myself walked through the woods with the light of a candle to Fort New-Post, where I found a party of the Yorkers lying ready to carry provisions to Oswego. From thence walked with Doctor Peters to the fort, after ordering the sluice open to carry up the boats. Supped with Captain Ogilvie, Mr. Fister, and Doctor Peters, and at 10 o'clock went to bed.

"Friday 27th.—A fine morning. I got up early, and ordered my boats and baggage over the camping place. I yesterday stopped and took their passport from Messrs. Fonda and Neukirk, which was for the Senecas, &c., and gave them one for Oswego, Niagara, Oneida Lake, &c. I took another pass from one Knox, which was for La Galette, and gave him a proper one. Dined and supped with Captain Ogilvie, and after dinner walked down to see my boats come over, and gave orders for embarking early to-morrow morning. The fort here, as far as finished, is very neat, but will require another summer to finish it, as will Oswego also.

"Wednesday 28th.—A fine, frosty morning. All things ready. Embarked at 10 o'clock. The water in the river very good though falling. Yesterday Colonel Whiting and Captain Ogilvie told me the Provincials who were sent to fetch provisions up from the little falls, were just returned without provisions, there being no battoes

at the falls. They all cry out against, and greatly blame the quartermaster generals for the scarcity at all the garrisons, some of whom were lately within a very little of abandoning their posts. Arrived at Fort Schuyler at 4 o'clock. Drank some punch with Lieutenant Smith, who made me a present of a fine pointer, which he had of Sir Robert Davis. He told me he wrote the general for the land round that fort. I promised him a farm there in case I succeeded in the purchase I was about of all the lands which belonged to Governor Cosby's heirs, which I shall do. I set off and encamped about three miles below the fort. Fine, pleasant day, but cool in the evening.

"*Thursday 29th.*—A fine morning, but cold and frosty. Embarked at 8 o'clock, and arrived at Conradt Frank's by 12 o'clock. Dined there, and set off for Canajoharie; where I arrived at 7 o'clock at night. Lodged at Brant's.

"*Friday 30th.*—Fine morning, but smart white frost. Set off at 8 o'clock. Dined at Hannis Eil's, and arrived at my house about half after seven at night, where I found all my family well; so ended my tour—*Gloria Deo Soli.*

"WM. JOHNSON."

In the fly-leaf of the above diary, I find the following carefully noted down:

Garrisons in Time of Peace, 1761.

Quebec.....	1800
Trois Riviere.....	100
Montreal.....	200
Fort Wm. Augustus.....	50
Oswego.....	100
Niagara.....	200
Little Niagara.....	12
Presque Isle.....	30
Sandusky.....	12
Detroit.....	150
Missillimackinae.....	30
Miamis 20, St. Joseph 30.....	50
Port in the Bay 20, Warriaghta 30.....	50
Fort Pitt.....	150
Venango 30, La Boeuf 20.....	50
Bedford 12, Legonier 12.....	24

Oswego Falls.....	12
Fort Brewerton.....	6
East End Block-House.....	8
Fort Stanwix.....	50
Schenectady.....	25
Chamble.....	30
Crown Point.....	400
Fort George.....	25
Fort Edward.....	25
Still Water.....	12
Albany.....	50
	<hr/>
	3676
Halifax, Annapolis Royal, &c.....	1200
Newfoundland, &c.,.....	200
Carolina, &c.....	600
	<hr/>
Total.....	5676
	4324 men
	<hr/>
For a Relief.....	10,000 men

No. V.

Johnson Hall.

Johnson Hall still stands upon a slight elevation half a mile northward of the village of Johnstown, a little off from the plank road leading to Black river. It was, without doubt, in its day, the most spacious and elegant mansion in the province out of New York city. The timbers in its frame are positively massive, and are as sound at the present day as when first put in. The building is of wood, clapboarded to resemble blocks of stone, having on each side detached wings of stone, pierced at the top for musquetry, and designed as block-houses in case of attack from hostile Indian tribes. Although it never experienced a siege, yet it was twice fortified, once by a strong rampart, in 1763, by Sir William Johnson, during the revolt of the western tribes; and again in 1776 by Sir John Johnson previous to his flight into Canada. Upon first entering the house, the visitor is impressed with the feeling of *vastness*—on such a large scale is everything planned inside. The hall, which runs through the entire building, is fifteen feet wide, and the rooms in both stories are large and lofty; the sides

being wainscotted with pine panels and heavy carved work. A broad staircase, leading from the lower to the upper hall, is protected by massive mahogany balustrades, which still bear the marks of the hacking of a hatchet,—said by tradition to have been done by Brant when he fled with Sir John in 1776, “to protect the house from the torch of savages who would understand and respect these signs.” Tradition, however, is a very poor guide to follow; and it is far more probable that it was done by some vandal soldier in the colonial service, who, not being allowed by his superior officer to burn the building, vented his malice in the above manner. When I last visited the Hall in the summer of 1862, the main building was in perfect preservation, although the two block-houses were sadly out of repair. Of the garden and nursery, formerly on the south of the Hall, which was the delight of the Baronet and the pride of the surrounding country, not a vestige remains.

No. VI.

Letter from Sir William Johnson to Arthur Lee, Esq., of the Philosophical Society, upon the Language, Customs, &c., of the Six Nations.

JOHNSON HALL, Feb. 28th, 1771.

“Sir:

“I should be wanting in duty to the public if I withheld from a gentleman of Dr. Lee’s character any information I am capable of affording, the subject of your letter, which, through my absence from home, having been for some time in the Indian country, and since entirely occupied with affairs of a public nature, it was not in my power to answer till now.

“I am only apprehensive that any account in my power respecting such inquiries amongst the unlettered Indians will prove inadequate to the expectation formed in your letter; for, notwithstanding my long residence in this country, the nature of my office and the most diligent inquiries into these various particulars, I find all researches of that sort, for reasons which I shall give presently, involved in such difficulty and uncertainty, as to afford but slender satisfaction—at least far short of my inclination to gratify your desires thereon. However, I shall endeavor to make some atonement by giving you some account of these difficulties, together with such other hints as from the motives of enquiry suggested in your letter, may, I flatter myself, be of some use or amusement to you.

“It will be unnecessary to enlarge on the want of laws, govern-

ment, letters, or such other particulars as are to be found in most authors who have treated of the American Indians. These are general observations as generally known. To show wherein they are defective, and to account for it by putting forth the present state of the several Indian Nations is a subject of greater importance, as it will lead to other matters more interesting.

“I must therefore observe that the customs and manners of the Indians are in several cases liable to changes which have not been thoroughly considered by authors, and therefore the description of them (as is usual) at our particular period, must be insufficient; and I must further premise, that I mean to confine my observations to those of the Northern Nations, with whom I have the most acquaintance and intercourse. In all inquiries of this sort, we should distinguish between the most remote tribes and those Indians who, from their having been next to our settlements several years, and relying solely on oral tradition for the support of their ancient usages, have lost a great part of them, and have blended some customs amongst ourselves, so as to render it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to trace these customs to their origin, or to discover their application. Again, those Indians who are a degree farther removed, have still a good deal of intercourse with our traders, and having altered their system of politics, though they still retain many ancient customs, they are much at a loss to account for them, whilst those who are far removed from any intercourse with the whites, (a few traders excepted), are still in possession of the greater part of their primitive usages, although they cannot give a satisfactory account of their original signification, and having blended the whole with fables, as to render it matter of great difficulty to separate truth from it; add to this, that above a century ago, they had French jesuits among them, who partly for religious purposes, but chiefly to secure particular ends in the wars they often fomented, introduced some of their own inventions, which the present generation confound with their ancient ceremonies.

“If these remarks are confined to the Confederacy of the Six Nations, the Mohawks, who have long lived within our settlements, and come under the first predicament, though greatly reduced in number, are still the acknowledged head of that alliance, but in their present state, they have less intercourse with the Indians and more with us than formerly, besides which, they are at present members of the church of England. Most of them read, and several

write very well. When, therefore, they subscribe an ordinary deed, they frequently make use of a cross after the example of the illiterate amongst us, and sometimes write their names; but in things of much consequence, they usually delineate a steel, such as is used to strike fire out of a flint, being the symbol of their nation. This steel which is their language, they call Canniah, themselves Canmugaes, but from hence little can be deduced, as they had not the use of any instrument in that form before their commerce with the whites. The Tuscaroras I omit, as they are a southern people, not long introduced into the alliance, making the Sixth Nation.

"The Oneidas who inhabit the country a little beyond our settlements, are in the next class, for although some efforts have been made to civilize and Christianize them, a great part are still in the primitive way; but being also reduced in numbers, and their political system much changed, their intercourse with the more remote Indians is lessened, and their knowledge of ancient usages decayed. They have in use symbols, a tree, by which they would express stability. But their true symbol is a stone called Onoyat, and they call themselves Onoynts, a particular instance of which I can give from an expedition I went on to lake St. Sacrament, in 1746, when to show the enemy the strength of our Indian alliances, I desired each nation to affix their symbol to a tree. The Oneidas put up a stone which they painted red. The Onondagas, whose residence is 40 miles farther, are somewhat better versed in the customs of their ancestors. They call themselves a people of the Great Mountain. The Cayugas, who are about the same distance beyond them, have for their symbol a pipe.

"The Senecas are the most numerous and most distant of the Six Nations; have several towns and symbols, from which, however, little can be understood; and leaving this Confederacy, we shall find that the nations to the north-west, though they have their symbols, are not able to explain them to any degree of satisfaction; for as they scatter more in quest of a livelihood, they have not the same opportunity or inclination to cultivate and explain oral tradition.

"To the south-west, the Indians are better versed in these matters; but this is a field too large for what I now propose, though by another opportunity I shall most willingly assist your inquiry therein, returning now to other observations. The Indians, taken collectively, did certainly a few centuries ago live under some more order and government than they do at present. This, I know, is not a natural

position in ordinary speculation, because the Romans found the nations of the north little better than barbarians, but left them vastly improved, and not only capable of relishing the sweets of civil society, but actually enjoying a species of order and government to which in their rude state they were strangers; and therefore it would appear an apt conclusion that the Indians must, from similar circumstances, be likewise improved. But, that the reverse is the truth may seem odd, but it is the truth; for their intercourse in general being with the lower class of our traders, they learn little from us but our vices; and the long wars they have sustained, together with the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, have so reduced them, as to render that order which was first instituted unnecessary and impracticable. Since the reduction of Canada, their system of politics is changed. Their eyes are upon us, whom they consider too formidable, and much of their time is much spent in intrigues of state, to which other matters have given place. But though it does not appear that they had the use of letters, yet the traces of government may still be seen, and there is reason to believe that they made use of hieroglyphics, understood to be figures, intended to conceal somewhat from the vulgar. But they are drawn to the utmost of their skill to represent the thing intended, for instance: when they go to war, they paint some trees with the figures of men, often the exact number of the parties, and if they go by water, they delineate a canoe. When they make any achievement, they mark the handle of their tomahawks with human figures to signify prisoners, but bodies without heads to express scalps. The figures which they affix to deeds, have led some to imagine that they had characters or an alphabet. The case is this: every nation is divided into a certain number of tribes, of which some have three, as the turtle, bear and wolf, to which others add the snake, deer, &c. Each of these tribes form a little community within the nation, and either nation has its peculiar symbol, (as the flint for the Mohawks, the stone for the Oneidas, and the pipe for the Cayugas), so each tribe has the peculiar badge from whence it is denominated, and a sachem of each tribe being a necessary party to a fair conveyance, such sachem affixes the mark of the tribe thereto, which is not that of a particular family (unless the whole tribe is so deemed) but rather as a public seal of a corporation.

“As this letter is already of an immoderate length, I shall only at present, add that, with respect to the deed of 1726, of which you

sent me the signature, the transaction was in some measure of a partial nature, which I can at another time explain. All the nations of the Confederacy did not subscribe it, and those chiefs that did, neglected to pay due regard to the proper symbols, but signed agreeably to fancy, of which I have seen other instances, although the manner I have mentioned is the most authentic and agreeable to their original practice.

“As to the information which you observe I formerly transmitted to the governor of New York concerning the belt and 15 bloody sticks sent by the Mississageys, the like is very common, and the Indians use sticks, as well to express the alliance of castles, as the number of individuals in a party. These sticks are generally six inches in length, very slender, and painted red, if the subject is war, but without any peculiarity of shape. Their belts are mostly black wampum, painted red when they denote war. They describe castles sometimes upon them as square figures of white wampum, and in alliance, human figures holding a chain of friendship, each figure representing a nation. An axe is also sometimes described, which is always an emblem of war. The taking it up is a declaration, and the burying it a token of peace.

With respect to your questions concerning the chief magistrate, or sachem, and how he acquires his authority, &c., I am to acquaint you that there is, in every nation, a sachem or chief, who appears to have some authority over the rest, and is it the greatest amongst the most distant nations. But in most of those bordering on our settlements, his authority is scarcely discernible, he seldom assuming any power before his people. And, indeed, this humility is judged the best policy; for, wanting coercive power, their commands would perhaps occasion assassination, which sometimes happens.

The sachems of each tribe are usually chosen in a public assembly of the chiefs and warriors, when a vacancy happens by death or otherwise. They are generally chosen for their sense and bravery from among the oldest warriors, and approved of by all the tribe, on which they are saluted sachems. There are, however, several exceptions, for some families have a kind of inheritance in the office, and are called to this station in their infancy.

The chief sachem, by some called the king, is so either by inheritance or by a kind of tacit consent, the consequence of his superior abilities and influence. The duration of his authority depends much on his own wisdom, the number and consequence of his rela-

tions, and the strength of his particular tribe. But even in those cases where it descends, should the successor appear unequal to the task, some other sachem is sure to possess himself of the power and the duties of the office. I should have observed, that military services are the chief recommendations to this rank. And it appears pretty clearly that heretofore the chief of a nation had, in some small degree, the authority of a sovereign. This is now the fact among the most remote Indians. But as, since the introduction of fire-arms, they no longer fight in close bodies, but every man is his own general, I am inclined to think this has constituted to lessen the power of a chief. This chief of a whole nation has the custody of the belts of wampum, &c., which are as records of public transactions; he prompts the speakers at all treaties, and proposes affairs of consequence. The chief sachems form the grand council, and those of each tribe often deliberate apart on the affairs of their particular tribes. All their deliberations are conducted with extraordinary regularity and decorum. They never interrupt him who is speaking, nor use harsh language, whatever may be their thoughts.

The chiefs assume most authority in the field; but this must be done even there with great caution, as a head warrior thinks himself of most consequence in that place. The Indians believe in, and are much afraid of witchcraft; those suspected of it are therefore often punished with death. Several nations are equally severe on those guilty of theft (a crime indeed uncommon among them); but in cases of murder, the relatives are left to take what revenge they please. In general, they are unwilling to inflict capital punishments, as these defeat their grand political object, which is to increase their numbers by all possible means.

On their hunts, as upon all other occasions, they are strict observers of *meum* and *tuum*, and this pure principle, holding theft in contempt, so that they are rarely guilty of it, though tempted by articles of much value. Neither do they attempt to seize the prey of the weak; and I must do them the justice to say that unless heated by liquor or inflamed by revenge, their ideas of right and wrong, and their practices in consequence of them, would, if more known, do them much honor. It is true, that, having been often deceived by us in the purchase of lands, in trade, and other transactions, many of them begin now to act the same part. But this reflects most on those who set them the example.

As to your remark on their apparent repugnance to civilization,

I must observe, that this is not owing to any viciousness of their nature, or want of capacity, as they have a strong genius for arts, and uncommon patience. I believe they are put to the English schools too late, and sent back too soon to their people, whose political maxim, Spartan-like, is to discountenance all pursuits but war, holding all other knowledge as unworthy the dignity of man, and tending to enervate and divert them from that warfare on which they conceive their liberty and happiness depend. These sentiments, constantly instilled into the minds of youth, and illustrated by examples drawn from the contemptible state of the domesticated tribes, leave lasting impressions, and can hardly be defeated by an ordinary school education.

I wish my present leisure would allow me to give you as many specimens of their language as would show that (though not very wordy), it is extremely emphatical; and that their style abounds with noble images, strong metaphors, and equal in allegory to many of the eastern nations. The article is contained in the noun, by varying the termination; and the adjective is combined into one word. Thus of *echin*, a man, and *gowana*, great, is formed *echingouana*, a great man. *Cahyunghaw* is a creek, *caghyunga*, a river; *caghyunghaowana*, a great river; *caghyunghceo*, a fine river. *Haga*, the inhabitants of any place, and *tierham* the morning; so, if they speak of eastern people, they say *tierhans*—*aga*, or people of the morning. *Eso* is expressive of a great quantity, and *esogee* is the superlative. The words *goronta* and *golota*, which you mention, are not of the Six Nations, but a southern language. It is curious to observe that they have various modes of speech and phrases peculiar to each age and sex, which they strictly observe. For instance, a man says when he is hungry, *cadagcariax*, which is expressive both of his want and of the animal food he requires to supply it; whilst a child says, in the same circumstances, *cautfore*, that is, "I require spoon-meat."

Indeed, whatever agreement there is in the manners, there is so remarkable a difference in the language of the Five Nations from all the rest, as affords some grounds for inquiry into their distinct origin, for the Indians north of the St. Lawrence, those west of the great lakes, with the few who inhabit the sea coasts of New England, and those again who live about the Ohio, notwithstanding the respective differences between them, speak a language radically the same, and can, in general, communicate their wants to each other,

whilst the Five nations who live in the midst of them, are incapable of conveying a single idea to their neighbors; neither can they pronounce a word of their language with correctness. There is, indeed, some difference of dialect amongst the Five Nations themselves, but there is little more than may be found in the provinces of large states in Europe. In particular, the letters M and P, which occur so frequently in the language of the rest, cannot be pronounced by the Five Nations without the utmost difficulty, and are not in this language.

But as I have already accounted for not going into further particulars at present, I shall conclude with assuring you that if these remarks prove of any use to you, I shall readily descend to any other matters of information that may demonstrate how much

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

WM. JOHNSON."

To Author Lee, Esq."¹

No. VII.

An Account of the Location of Indian Tribes by Sir William Johnson.

SIX NATION CONFEDERACY, COMPREHENDING THAT OF CANADA, OHIO, ETC.

NAMES.	NO. OF MEN.	SCITUATION.
Mohocks.....	160	Two villages on the Mohawk River, with a few emigrants at Scohare about 16 miles from Fort Hunter.
Oneidas ²	250	Two villages, one 25 miles from Fort Stanwix, the other 12 miles west of Oneida Lake, with Emigrants in several places towards the Susquehanna River.

¹ Manuscript letter. It is much to be regretted that the other letters in this series—if this one was followed up as the writer intimates it would be—cannot be found.

² Of the Six Nations, the Mohawks or Mohocks, Onondagas and Senecas are considered as the chief and elder branches—the Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras are the younger; the last mentioned Nation having many years ago retired from the southward, were admitted into the Confederacy with the then Five Nations, the Oneidas giving them land, and they now enjoy all privileges with the rest.

NAMES.	NO. OF MEN.	SITUATION.
Tuscaroras.....	140	One village 6 miles from the first Oneidas, and several others about the Susquehanna.
Onondagas.....	150	One large village, 6 m. from the lake of their name (which is the place of congress for the Confederates) with a smaller at some distance.
Cayugas.....	200	One large village near the lake of their name, with several others from thence to the Susquehanna.
Senecas ¹	1050	Have several villages beginning about 50 m. from Cayuga, and from thence to Chenussio, the largest about 70 m. from Niagara, with others thence to the Ohio.
Oswegachys ²	80	Emigrants from the Six Nations chiefly Onondagas settled at La Gallette on the River St. Lawrence.
Nanticokes ³	} 200	A people removed from the southward and settled on and about the Susquehanna on lands allotted by the Six Nations.
Conoys ³		
Tutecoos ³		
Saponeys ettc ³		

INDIANS IN ALLIANCE WITH THE SIX NATIONS.

Caghnawagas ⁴	300	Emigrants from the Mohocks settled at Sault St. Louis near Montreal, with Emigrants at Aghquissasne, below La Gallette, which is the seat of a Mission.
Canasadagas ⁴	} 150	These three Nations now reside together at the Lac de deux Montagnes at the mouth of the Ottawa River near Montreal.
Arundacs ¹		
Algonkins ⁴		

¹ Of the Senecas, two villages are still in our interest, vizt: Kanadasero and Kanaderagey; the rest have joined the western nations.

² These are at peace with the English.

³ These people are immediately under the direction of the Six Nations, and at peace with the English.

⁴ All these nations are in alliance with the Six Nations, and warmly attached to the British interest, as are all the other Indians in Canada—Caughnawaga is the seat of a mission, as is the village of Lac du deux Montagnes.

NAMES.	NO. OF MEN.	SITUATION.
Abenakis ¹	100	Their village having been burned at St. Francis, below Montreal, during the war, they have since lived scattered except a few.
Skaghquanoghrinos ² ..	40	Reside at Trois Rivieres, they are originally Algonkins
Hurons ²	40	Reside at Loretto, near Quebec, a very civilized people
Shawanese	300	Removed to the river Scioto, and other branches.
Delawares ³	600	In several villages on and about the Susquehanna, Muskingum, ettc., and thence to Lake Erie.
Wiandots, ettc.,.....	200	Some villages in the neighborhood of Sandusky fort, near Lake Erie.
Total ⁴	3960	

OTTAWA CONFEDERACY, COMPREHENDING THE TWIGHTTWEES, ETTC.

Wiandots or Hurons ⁵	250	Reside opposite Detroit, their village is the seat of a Jesuit mission, their language bears affinity with that of the Six Nations.
Powtewatamis: in the neighborhood of Detroit.....	150	Resided about a mile below the fort, but abandoned their village on the commencement of hostilities.
in the neighborhood of St. Joseph.....	200	A little below the fort.

¹ These Indians are originally from New England; if they were all collected, they would amount to more than is represented. They have likewise a missionary who is a Jesuit.

² There are several other nations to the northward, who avoid any connection with the white people; and as they have no fixed residence, their numbers, though considerable, can not be ascertained.

³ These people are greatly influenced by the Senecas, and reside on lands allotted them by the permission of the Six Nations. They are now at war with the English.

⁴ There are also in the Six Nation Confederacy, many Indians, whose numbers cannot be computed, as they have no fixed residence.

⁵ This nation has a great influence over the rest, and has been greatly instigated by the neighboring French to commit acts of hostility.

NAMES.	NO. OF MEN.	SITUATION.
Ottawas, residing in the neighborhood of Detroit. ¹	200	Resided about Detroit, but with the former, form a flying camp.
in the neighborhood of Michillimakinac ²	250	Resided in different villages, but are now probably with the former. Michillimakinac is the seat of a mission.
in the neighborhood of Fort St. Joseph	150	Resided at a small distance, after the reduction of the fort, probably joined the rest.
Chipeweighs, or Missisagais: in the neighborhood of Detroit ³	320	Resided above the Detroit, now probably in arms with the rest.
In the neighborhood of Michillimackinac ³	400	Had several different villages in that country and the environs of the Lake Huron.
Meynomenys ⁴	110	All these nations reside on the west side of La Baye, at Lake Michigan, and in the neighborhood of the fort there.
Folsavoins ⁴	100	
Puans ⁴	360	
Sakis ⁴	300	
Foxes ⁴	320	

MIAMIS OR TWIGHTTWEES.

Twightwees ⁵	230	Near the fort, on the Miamis river.
Kickapous ⁶	180	These nations reside in the neighborhood of the fort at Wawiahta, and
Mascoutens ⁶	90	

¹ With these and the above Indians are joined several others who form a flying camp under *Pondiac*, an Ottawa chief.

² The Ottawas in the neighborhood of Michillimackinac are well attached to us for the most part.

³ These are the most numerous of all the Ottawa Confederacy, and have many villages about lakes Superior, Huron, Erie, etc., whose numbers can not at present be ascertained with exactness.

⁴ These nations are at present in alliance with the Ottawa Confederacy, but appear inclined to our interest; nor did they take the fort at La Baye, the officer abandoning it, on the news of the rupture, as he could make no defence.

⁵ The Twightwees were originally a very powerful people, who, having been subdued by the Six Nations, were permitted to enjoy their possessions. There are many tribes and villages of them, but these are all who are perfectly known.

NAMES.	NO. OF MEN.	SITUATION.
Piankashaws.....	100	about the Wabache river.
Wawiaghtonos.....	200	
Ottawas,		Residing through all the extent of
Chipeweighs,etc. ¹	4000	country, from the lakes, to the great Ot-
		tawa river, and at Lake Superior, etc.
Illinois number		Reside about the Illinois river, and
uncertain ²		hence to the Mississippi.
Sioux number		Reside in the country westward of
uncertain ³		Mississippi, they are much addicted to
		wandering, and live mostly in camps.
Total.....	8020	

WM. JOHNSON.

November 18th, 1763.

No. VIII.

Will of Sir William Johnson.

In the name of God, amen — I, Sir William Johnson, of Johnson Hall, in the county of Tryon and Province of New York, Bart., being of sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding, do make, publish and declare, this to be my last will and testament, in manner and form following :

First and principally, I resign my soul to the great and merciful God who made it, in hopes, through the merits alone of my blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, to have a joyful resurrection to life eternal; and my body I direct to be decently interred in the place which I intend for it; and I would willingly have the remains of my beloved wife, Catharine, deposited there, if not done before my decease; and I direct and desire my hereinafter mentioned executors to provide mourning for my house-keeper, Mary Brant, and

¹ This is the most exact computation which can be made of these numerous people who are scattered throughout the northern parts, and who having few places affixed residence, subsisting entirely by hunting, cannot be ascertained as those of their Confederacy residing near the out forts.

² We have hitherto had nothing to do with these people, who are numerous and variously computed. The Six Nations claim their country, but their right of conquest thereto does not appear so clear as to the rest, as represented in the letter herewith.

³ The Sioux, who are the most numerous of the northern Indians, are little known to us, they not appear well affected to the western Indians, and promise to send deputies to me in the spring.

for all her children; also for young Brant and William, both half-breed Mohawks, likewise for my servants and slaves; it is also my desire that the sachems of both Mohawk villages be invited to my funeral, and there to receive each a black stroud blanket, crape and gloves, which they are to wear, and follow as mourners, next after my own family and friends. I leave it to the discretion of my executors, to get such of my friends and acquaintances for bearers as they shall judge most proper, who are to have white scarves, crapes and gloves, the whole expense not to exceed three hundred pounds currency. And as to the worldly and temporal estate, which God was pleased to endow me with, I devise, bequeath and dispose of in the following manner: *Imprimis*. I will, order and direct, that all such just debts as I may owe, at the time of my decease, together with my funeral expenses of every kind, to be paid by my son, Sir Johnson, Bart. *Item*. I give and bequeath to the following persons the sums of money hereafter mentioned, which several sums of money are to be paid to them, by my executors, out of the money I may have in the three per cent consolidated annuities, of which the heir of the late Sir William Baker, has the management, and that in six months after my decease. And first, to the children of my present housekeeper, Mary Brant, the sum of one thousand pounds sterling, to wit: to Peter, my natural son by said Mary Brant, the sum of three hundred pounds sterling, and to each of the rest, being seven in number, one hundred pounds each; the interest to be thereof duly received and laid out to the best advantage by their guardians or trustees, and also the income of whatever other legacies, &c., as are hereafter to be mentioned, until they come of age or marry, except what is necessary for their maintenance and education. *Item*. To young Brant, alias Kegn-eghtaga, and William, alias Tagcheunto, two Mohawk lads, the sum of one hundred pounds York currency to each or the survivor of them.

After paying the before mentioned sums of money, I bequeath to my dearly beloved son, Sir John Johnson, the remaining part of what money I may then have left in the before mentioned, and the other half to be equally divided between my two sons-in-law, Daniel Claus and Guy Johnson, for the use of their heirs. *Item*. I bequeath to my son, Sir John Johnson, my library and household furniture at the Hall, except what is in my bedroom and in the children's rooms or nursery, which is to be equally divided among

them; I also bequeath to him all my plate, except a few articles which I gave to the children of my housekeeper, Mary Brant; he is also to have one-fourth part of all my slaves, and the same of my stock of cattle of every kind. To my two daughters, Ann Claus and Mary Johnson, two-fourths of my slaves and stock of cattle; the other fourth of my slaves and stock of cattle of every kind, I give and bequeath to the children of Mary Brant, my house-keeper, or to the survivors of them, to be equally divided amongst them, except two horses, two cows, two breeding cows, and four sheep, which I would have given before any division is made to young Brant and William of Canajoharie, and that within three months after my decease. I also give and devise all my own wearing apparel, woolen and linen, &c., to be equally divided among the children of my said housekeeper, Mary Brant, share and share alike.

In the next place, I dispose of my real estate, all of my own acquiring, in the following manner, and as I maturely weighed the affair, and made the most equitable division which my conscience directed, I expect all who share of it, will be satisfied, and wish they may make a proper use of it. And first, to my son, Sir John Johnson, Bart., I devise and bequeath all my estate, at and about Fort Johnson, with all the buildings, improvements &c., thereunto belonging, to be, by him and his heirs, forever peaceably possessed and enjoyed. Also a small tract of land on the south side of the river, opposite Fort Johnson; fifty thousand acres of King's land or Royal Grant, all in one body, except the few lots which I have otherwise disposed of; also my share in a patent called Klock & Nellis, jr., on the north side of the Mohawk river. I also devise and bequeath to my son, Sir John Johnson, all my right and title to the Salt Lake, Onondaga, and the lands around it, two miles in depth, for which I have a firm deed, and it is also recorded in the minutes of council at New York; I likewise devise and bequeath to my said son lot No. 10 in said meadow, or patent Sacondaga¹ containing two hundred and sixty-three acres, to be by him and his heirs, of his body lawfully begotten, forever quietly and peaceably possessed and enjoyed; lastly, I do most earnestly recommend it to my son to show lenity to such of the tenants as are poor and of upright conduct in all his dealings with mankind, which will, upon reflection, afford more satisfaction and heart-feeling pleasure, to a noble and generous mind, than the greatest opulency.

¹ Spelled so in the will.

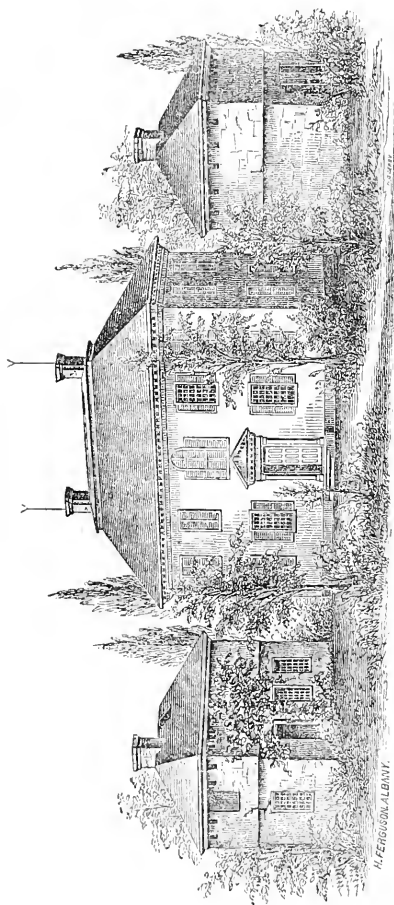
In the next place, I devise and bequeath to my son-in-law, Colonel Daniel Claus, and to his heirs, the tract of land whereon he lives, to wit: from Dove Kill to the creek which lies about four hundred yards to the northward of the new dwelling house of Colonel Guy Johnson, together with all the islands thereto belonging; also the house and lots in Albany which I purchased of Henry Holland, together with the water lot adjoining thereto, which I purchased of the corporation of Albany, together with all the buildings and other improvements thereon.

I further devise and bequeath unto the said Daniel Claus and the heirs of his body, all my right in the patent adjoining the German Flatts, on the south side of the Mohawk river, containing about sixteen hundred acres; also three lots in the patent of Kingsborough, to wit: No. thirteen, fourteen and fifty-seven, in the western allotment of three lots in Sacondaga patent, to wit: No. 29, sixty-six, and twenty-seven, containing each two hundred and fifty acres; a third part of a lot in Schenectady, which exchanged with Daniel Campbell, Esq.; also ten thousand acres of land in the Royal Grant, next to that of Sir John Johnson, which is never to be sold or alienated. And lastly, I devise and bequeath unto the said Daniel Claus and the heirs of his body, nine hundred acres, the half of that land that was Gilbert Tices, in the nine partners patent, between Schoharie and the Mohawk; the whole of the several tracts, lots and houses and before mentioned, to be by him and his heirs, of his body lawfully begotten, forever quietly and peaceably possessed and enjoyed. Item. I devise and bequeath to my son-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, the farm and tract of land whereon he now lives, together with all the islands, buildings, and other improvements thereon; also the house and lot of land on Schenectady, purchased by me of Paul Cowes, and now in the possession of the said Guy Johnson, all my right in the Northampton patent, which I purchased of one Dewey; two lots in Sacondaga patent containing one thousand acres, to wit: lot No. 1 and two, near to the river and on both sides of Sacondaga creek; three lots of land in Kingsborough, No. eighty-seven, eighty-eight and eighty-nine, containing each one hundred acres of land, and one in the eastern allotment; ten thousand acres of land in the Royal Grant, now called Kingsland, adjoining to the ten thousand acres given to Colonel Daniel Claus, which is never to be sold nor alienated on any account; and lastly, nine hundred acres in the half

of that land which was Gilbert Tice's in the nine partners patent between Schoharie and the Mohawk village; all the above-mentioned farms, tracts of land and houses with their appurtenances, to be by him and his heirs, of his body lawfully begotten, forever peaceably and quietly possessed and enjoyed. I devise and bequeath unto Peter Johnson, my natural son by Mary Brant, my present house-keeper, the farm and lot of land which I purchased from the Snells in the Stoneraby patent, with all the buildings, mill and other improvements thereon; also two hundred acres of land adjoining thereto, being part of Kingsborough patent, to be laid out in a compact body, between the Garoge and Caniadutta Creeks; also four thousand acres in the Royal Grant, now called Kingsland, next to the Mohawk river, and another strip or piece of land in the Royal Grant, from the Little Falls or carrying-place to lot No. one, almost opposite the house of Hannicol Herkimer, and includes two lots, No. three and No. two, along the river side, and which are now occupied by Ury House, &c. I devise and bequeath unto Elizabeth, sister of the aforesaid Peter, and daughter of Mary Brant, all that farm and lot of land in Harrison's patent, on the north side of the Mohawk river, at No. nineteen, containing near seven hundred acres, bought by me several years ago of Mr. Brown, of Salem, with all the buildings and appurtenances thereunto belonging; also two thousand acres of land in the Royal Grant, now called Kingsland, and that to be laid out joining to that of her brother Peter, both which she and the heirs of her body, lawfully begotten, are to enjoy peaceably forever.

To Magdalene, sister of the two former, and daughter of Mary Brant, I devise and bequeath that farm near to Anthony's Nose, No. eight, containing about nine hundred acres of land, and on which Mr. Broat now lives, with all the buildings and improvements and other appurtenances thereunto belonging; also two thousand acres of land in the Royal Grant now called Kingsland, adjoining to that tract of her sister Elizabeth.

To Margaret, sister of the above named Magdalene, and daughter of Mary Brant, I devise and bequeath two lots of land, part of Stoneraby patent, the one to wit: No. twenty-five, which I bought of William Marshall, contains one hundred acres, the other, No. twelve, contains one hundred and thirty-one acres and a half, or thereabouts, which I purchased of Peter Weaver; also two thousand acres in the Royal Grant now called Kingsland, to be laid out next to her sister Magdalene.



JOHNSON HALL.

To George, my natural son by Mary Brant, and brother to the four before-mentioned children, I devise and bequeath two lots of land, part of Sacondaga patent, known by Nos. forty-three and forty-four, and called New Philadelphia, containing two hundred and fifty acres each; also a small patent or tract of land called John Braekans, lying on the north side of the Mohawk river, almost opposite to the Canajoharie castle, and contains two hundred and eighty acres or thereabouts; and lastly, three thousand acres in the Royal Grant now called Kingsland, next to the two thousand acres given to his sister Margaret. The said farms or tracts of land with all the buildings and other appurtenances belonging to them, are to be by him, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, forever quietly and peaceably possessed and enjoyed.

To Mary, daughter of Mary Brant, and sister of the before-mentioned five children, I devise and bequeath two thousand acres in the Royal Grant, now called Kingsland, adjoining those of her brother George; also two lots in Stoneraby patent, No. thirty-six and thirty-eight, containing about one hundred and fifty acres, which I bought of Peter Davis and Hannes Kilts.

To Susannah, daughter of Mary Brant, and sister of the foregoing six children, I devise and bequeath three thousand acres of the Royal Grant now called Kingsland, laid out adjoining to them of her sister Mary.

To Anne, sister of the foregoing seven children by Mary Brant, I devise and bequeath three thousand acres of the Royal Grant now called Kingsland, to be laid out next to that of her sister Susannah, and to be by her, and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, forever quietly and peaceably possessed and enjoyed.

To young Brant alias Kaghneghtaga of Canajoharie, I give and bequeath one thousand acres of land in the Royal Grant, now called Kingsland, to be laid out next to and adjoining the before-mentioned land of Anne, daughter of Mary Brant. Also to William, alias Tagawirunte, of Canajoharie, one thousand acres of land in said Royal Grant, alias Kingsland, adjoining that of Brant, to be by them and the heirs of their body, lawfully begotten, forever quietly and peaceably possessed and enjoyed.

It is also my will and desire, that in case any of the before mentioned eight children of mine by Mary Brant should die without issue, their share or shares, as well of my personal as real estate, be equally divided amongst the survivors of them by their guardians.

To my prudent and faithful housekeeper, Mary Brant, mother of the before-mentioned eight children, I will and bequeath the lot No. one, being part of the Royal Grant now called Kingsland, and is opposite to the land whereon Honnicol Herkimer now lives, which she is to enjoy peaceably during her natural life; after which it is to be possessed by her son Peter, and his heirs forever; I also give and bequeath to my said housekeeper one negro wench named Jenny, the sister of Juba; also the sum of two hundred pounds, current money of New York, to be paid to her by my executors within three months after my decease; I also devise and bequeath to Mary McGrah, daughter of Christopher McGrah, of the Mohawk country, two hundred acres of land in the patent of Adageghteinge, now called Charlotte river, to be by her and her heirs forever peaceably possessed and enjoyed.

I give and bequeath to my brothers, John and Warren Johnson, to my sisters Dease, Sterling, Plunkent, and Fitzsimons, the following tracts of land, which I would have sold by my executors to the best advantage, and moneys arising therefrom to be equally divided among them and their heirs, to wit: whatever part of the patent called Byrnes at Schoharie, may remain unsold at my decease; also my fourth part of another patent at Schoharie called Lawyer & Zimmer's patent; also that of Adageghteinge or Charlotte river; and lastly, the five thousand acres which I have in Glen and Vrooman's patent; also the thirteen thousand acres which I have in the patent called Peter Servis near General Gage's or whatever part of the aforesaid tracts may be unsold at the time of my decease; this, (from the many losses which I have sustained, and the several sums expended by me during the war which were never paid), is all I can possibly do for them without injuring others, which my honor and conscience will not admit of. As his present majesty, George the third, was graciously pleased as a mark of his favor and regard, to give me a patent under the great seal for the tract of land now called Kingsland, and that without quit rent, except a trifling acknowledgment to be paid yearly, it is my will and desire that no part of it be ever sold by those to whom I have devised it, as that would be acting contrary to my intentions and determined resolution.

I devise and bequeath to my much esteemed nephew, Doctor John Dease, the sum of five hundred pounds current money of New York, to be paid to him within six months after my decease

by my executors out of such moneys as I may have in this country at that time, or by my son, Sir John, for which he, my said son Sir John Johnson, shall have and forever enjoy that lot of land in Sacondaga Patent, whereon Martin Laffler and two more tenants now live, viz: No. eighty-four, containing two hundred and fifty acres. I also devise and bequeath unto my said nephew, John Dease, Esq., two thousand acres of land lying near to South Bay, or Lake Champlain, which tract was purchased by me of Lt. Augustine Prevost, and which was formerly the location of Ensign or Lt. Gorvel, with all the advantages thereunto belonging; or should he, my said nephew, prefer or rather choose to have the value of it in money, in that case it is my will and desire, that my executors dispose of said land to the best advantage, and pay the amount of it to my said nephew.

To my faithful friend, Robert Adams, Esq., of Johnstown, the dwelling house, other buildings, and the lot and one acre whereon he now lives, the Potash laboratory, and one acre of land with it; also the farm which he holds by deed from me, all free from rent during his natural life, except the quit rent.

To Mr. William Byrne, of Kingsborough, I give the lot of land whereon he now lives and improvements; also that part of the stock of cattle which was mine, free of rent or demand, as long as he lives, the quit rent excepted.

I also will and bequeath to Mr. Patrick Daly, now living with me, for whom I have a particular regard, the sum of one hundred pounds current money of New York, to be paid unto him within three months after my decease, by my executors. It is also my will and desire that all the white servants I may have at the time of my death, be made free and receive from my son ten pounds each.

I also devise and bequeath unto my much esteemed friend and old acquaintance, Joseph Chew, Esq., now of Kingsborough, in the county of Tryon, during his natural life, fifty acres of land, which I purchased from Matthias Link, with all the buildings and other improvements thereon belonging; and after his decease, to his son William, my god-child, and to his heirs forever. In case of the death of my said god-son William without issue, then to be possessed and enjoyed by Joseph Chew, junr., elder brother of my said god-son William, and his heirs forever. I also devise and bequeath unto the said Joseph Chew, Esq., two hundred acres of land in the patent called Preston's, now Mayfield, to be laid out in one piece next to the

lots already laid out by John Collins, Esq., for the township; the same two hundred acres with all the appurtenances thereto belonging, to be by him, the said Joseph Chew and his heirs, forever peaceably and quietly possessed and enjoyed.

It is also my will and desire, that in case my son Sir John Johnson should (which God avert) die without issue, the following disposition be made of the personal and real estate, which is by the foregoing part of this will bequeathed to him, to wit: all the lands of Kingsborough containing above fifty thousand acres, the few lots excepted which I have otherwise disposed of, to be by my grandson William Claus, and the heirs of his body, quietly and peaceably possessed and enjoyed; also twenty thousand acres of the Royal Grant, now called Kingsland, which is never to be sold or alienated from my family.

It is likewise my will and desire, that in the above case, viz., of my son's death without issue, that the lands, house, &c., at Fort Johnson, and a small tract on the opposite side of the Mohawk river, called Babington's, together with twenty thousand acres of the Royal Grant now called Kingsland, be possessed and enjoyed by the first male heir which my daughter Mary Johnson may have by Guy Johnson, and by his heirs lawfully begotten forever; and in case of her having no male heir to possess it, then it is my will that the before-mentioned lands be equally divided between her daughters and their heirs, in consideration of which my two sons-in-law, Daniel Claus and Guy Johnson shall (within a year) pay unto my executors and trustees for the use of my children by Mary Brant, my housekeeper, the sum of eight hundred pounds current money of New York: that is to say, Colonel Daniel Claus shall pay the sum of five hundred pounds, and Colonel Guy Johnson the sum of three hundred pounds, which sums are to be (as well as the rest devised and bequeathed to them), put out to interest for their support and emolument until they come of age or marry, when equal division is to be made by their guardians or trustees. All the remainder of my son's estate, except what remains of his share in the Royal Grant alias Kingsland, shall be sold by my executors to the best advantage, and the monies arising from the sale thereof to be equally divided between my brothers and sisters as before named, the remainder of his share in Kingsland to be equally divided between his two sister's children, who are never to dispose of it.

Lastly, I do hereby make, constitute and appoint my beloved son Sir John Johnson, Kt., my two sons-in-law, Daniel Claus and

Guy Johnson, Esqs., my two brothers John and Warren Johnson, Esqs., Daniel Campbell, of Schenectady, John Butler, Nelles Fonda, Captain James Stevenson, of Albany, Robert Adams, Samuel Stringer of Albany, Doctor John Dease, Henry Frey and Joseph Chew, Esqs., or any six of them, executors of this, my last Will and testament. And it is also my will and desire that John Dease, Nelles Fonda, John Butler, James Stevenson, Henry Frey and Joseph Chew, Esqs., be, and act as guardians and trustees of my before-mentioned eight children by Mary Brant, my present house-keeper, in full confidence that from the close connection of the former, and the long uninterrupted friendship subsisting between me and the latter, they will strictly act as brothers, and inviolably observe and execute this my last charge to them; the strong dependence on, and expectation of which unburthens my mind, allays my cares, and makes a change the less alarming. And as I would willingly, in some measure, (although trifling,) testify my regard and friendship for the above-mentioned gentlemen, I must request their acceptance of three hundred pounds currency to purchase rings as a memento for their once sincere friend, which sum is to be immediately paid to them by my son, Sir John Johnson. And I do hereby revoke, disannul and make void all former wills, bequests and legacies by me heretofore at any time made, bequeathed, or given; and I do hereby make and declare this only to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have (with a perfect mind and memory), hereunto set my hand and seal this 27th day of January, 1774, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, and my name at the bottom of each page, being thirteen.

W. JOHNSON, (L. S.)

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as and for his last will and testament, in the presence of us, who, by the desire and in the presence of the said testator and of each other, have hereunto subscribed our names:

WILLIAM ADEMS,
GILBERT TICE,
MOSES IBBITT,
SAMUEL SUTTON.

Tryon Co., ss.

Be it remembered that on the twenty-fifth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, personally came and appeared before me, Bryan Lefferty, Surrogate of the said county, Sir John

Johnson, Bart., Guy Johnson, Daniel Claus, John Dease, John Butler, Robert Adams and Joseph Chew, executors of the within written will of Sir William Johnson, Bart., and were duly sworn to the true execution and performance of the said will, by severally taking the oath of an executor as by law appointed before me Bryan Lefferty,

Surrogate.

Tryon Co. ,ss.

Be it also remembered that on the twenty-fifth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, William Adams, Gilbert Tice, Moses Ibbitt and Samuel Sutton, all of Johnstown and county aforesaid, and being duly sworn on their oaths, declared: That they and each of them did see Sir William Johnson, Bart., sign and seal the within written instrument, purporting to be the will of the said Sir William Johnson, bearing date the twenty-seventh day of January, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, and heard him publish and declare the same as and for his last will and testament. That at the time thereof he, the said Sir William Johnson, was of sound, disposing mind and memory, to the best of the knowledge and belief of them the deponents. And that their names, subscribed to the said will, are of their respective proper hand-writing, which they subscribed as witnesses to the said will in the testator's presence.

BRYAN LEFFERTY,

Surrogate.¹

No. IX.

Sir John Johnson.

SIR JOHN JOHNSON was born in 1742; and married, in the summer of 1773, Miss Mary Watts, daughter of John Watts of New York city. Of his early life not much is known. He was not as popular as his father, being less social, and less acquainted with human nature and the springs of human action. He accompanied his father on several of his warlike expeditions, however, and probably saw considerable service. Soon after the termination of the seven years' war he was sent by his father (as related in the text) at the head of a small body of militia and Indians, to arrest Captain Bull, who was charged with stirring up a war among the Indian tribes,—in which enterprise he was entirely successful.

On the death of Sir William Johnson, Sir John succeeded to his

¹From Book of Record of Wills A. p. p. 35-48, in office of Clerk of the Court of Appeals, Albany, N. Y.

title and estates as well as to his post of major general of the militia; but as the successor of his father he did not possess the same degree of moral power over the population of Tryon county, Indian or white, as had been exercised by him. They nevertheless derived essential aid from "Miss Molly," who was a woman of talents as well as tact, and possessing great influence among the Indians, who were her own people. Molly was in turn aided by the counsels and exertions of her brother, Joseph Thayendanegea, who had been much in the service of Sir William during the latter years of his life, and who, on the death of the Baronet, was advanced to the post of secretary of Guy Johnson. These gentlemen, however, (Sir John Johnson, Guy Johnson, and Colonel Claus) living in great splendor, at, and in the neighborhood of Johnstown, and thus allied with the family of a Mohawk sachem, were still enabled to exert a decided influence, especially among the Indians. They were likewise in close official and political alliance with Colonel John Butler, an opulent and influential gentleman of that county and his son Walter N. Butler—names rendered memorable, if nothing more, by association with certain bloody transactions during the revolutionary war.

But notwithstanding all their influence—and no family had ever been regarded with greater deference by the surrounding population than that of the Johnsons—they were not long in discovering that the principles now openly avowed in Massachusetts, could not be confined within the limits of that colony, or even of Newfoundland; and Sir John now discovered, that although he could still count among his relations a large number of adherents, the leaven of civil liberty had nevertheless been more deeply at work than he had desired, or probably supposed. He therefore quietly began to make preparations for espousing actively—when the proper time should arrive—the cause of the crown. Accordingly he fortified Johnson Hall, and secure in the support of a large body of retainers, of the same political complexion as himself, watched his opportunity. Guy Johnson, however, was more open in his demonstrations; and it was not long before the patriots of Tryon county began to look more closely, and with greater assurance, to the deportment of Sir John, of whose designs they had from the first entertained strong suspicions. On the seventh of September, 1775, the whig committee of Tryon county wrote to the Provincial congress in New York, denouncing his conduct and that of his associ-

ates—particularly the Highlanders, who, to the number of two hundred, were said to be gathered about him, and by whom the Whigs were daily scandalized, provoked and threatened.” They added—“We have great suspicions, and are almost assured, that Sir John has a continual correspondence with Col. Guy Johnson and his party.”

But the Tryon county committee were not satisfied with merely writing to the Provincial congress. They at once determined to probe the intentions of Sir John to the bottom. For this purpose, on the twenty-sixth of October, they addressed him the following letter:

“TRYON COUNTY COMMITTEE CHAMBER, Oct. 26, 1775.

“Honorable Sir:

“As we find particular reason to be convinced of your opinion in the questions hereafter expressed, we require you, that you’ll please to oblige us with your sentiments thereupon in a few lines by our messengers, the bearers hereof, Messrs. Ebenezer Cox, James McMaster, and John James Klock, members of our committee.

“We want to know whether you will allow that the inhabitants of Johnstown and Kingsborough, may form themselves into companies, according to the regulations of our Continental congress, for the defence of our country’s cause; and whether your honor would be ready himself to give his personal assistance to the same purpose.

“Also, whether you pretend a prerogative to our county courthouse and gaol, and would hinder or interrupt the committee, to make use of the same public houses, to our want and service in the common cause.”

“We don’t doubt you will comply with our reasonable requests, and therefore oblige,

“Honorable Sir,

“Your obedient and humble servants,

“By order of the committee,

“NICHOLAS HERKIMER,

“Chairman.

“To the Honorable Sir John Johnson, Johnson Hall.”

To this letter Sir John replied that he had never refused to allow the gaol to be used for any lawful purpose; and that concerning himself, before he would sign any association, or lift his hand up against the king, he would rather his head should be cut off. He,

however, would not allow the committee to take possession of the goal, and they were obliged to fit up a private house as a temporary prison; while some of their prisoners were sent to Albany, and others as far as Hartford, for safe keeping.

Meanwhile Sir John continued his defensive operations, with a view, as it was believed, of throwing up strong fortifications around the baronial hall. His adherents were numerous, particularly among the Scotch Highlanders, by several hundred of whom he was surrounded; and reports became rife, that, in addition to these, the works he was erecting were to be garrisoned by three hundred Indians, to be let loose upon the settlements as opportunities might occur.

Convinced at last of his hostile intentions, General Schuyler, who with Montgomery, had charge of the northern department wrote to him in January, 1776, a letter in which he stated, that having been informed that "designs of the most dangerous tendency to the lives and liberties of those who are opposed to the unconstitutional measures of the ministry, have been formed in a part of the county of Tryon, he was ordered to march a body of men into that county to contravene those dangerous designs." "Influenced, moreover," the letter added, "by motives of humanity, I wish to comply with my orders in a manner the most peaceable, that no blood may be shed. I therefore request that you will please to meet me to-morrow, at any place on my way to Johnstown, to which I propose then to march." To this letter Sir John returned an unsatisfactory reply, and a correspondence ensued between himself and General Schuyler, which resulted in his giving his parole of honor not to take up arms against America, and agreeing not to go to the westward of the German Flatts and Kingsland districts.

For some unexplained reason, however, Sir John did not observe the compact of neutrality, nor the obligations of his parole. Or if he kept himself within the letter, his conduct was such as to reawaken the suspicions of the people, and was considered by General Schuyler a virtual violation of the spirit of the parole he had given, to take no part against the colonies. In fact, the information received by General Schuyler convinced him that he was secretly instigating the Indians to hostilities, and was thus likely to produce much mischief on the frontiers. To prevent such a calamity, it was thought advisable by Schuyler to secure the person of Sir John, and once more to quell the rising spirit of disaffection in the neigh-

borhood of Johnstown, especially among the Highlanders. For this purpose, in the month of May, 1776, Colonel Dayton, with a part of his regiment, then on its way to Canada, was dispatched by General Schuyler to prosecute this enterprise. There were, however, large numbers of loyalists in Albany, with whom Sir John was then and subsequently in close correspondence. It is therefore not surprising that he received timely notice of these preparations for his arrest, in anticipation of Dayton's arrival. Such was the fact; and, hastily collecting a large number of his tenants and others, disaffected towards the cause of the colonists, the Baronet was prepared for instant flight on the approach of the Continentals. This purpose was successfully executed. Colonel Dayton arrived at Johnstown in the evening, whereupon Sir John and his retainers immediately took to the woods by the way of the Sacon-daga. Not knowing whether his loyalist friends were in possession of Lake Champlain or not, the fugitives dared not venture upon that route to Montreal; and Sir John was accordingly obliged to strike deeper into the forests between the head waters of the Hudson and the St. Lawrence. Having but a brief period of preparation for their flight, the party were but ill supplied for such a campaign. Their provisions were soon exhausted, their feet became sore from travelling, and several of their number were left from time to time in the wilderness, to be picked up and brought in afterward by the Indians sent out for that purpose.

After nineteen days of severe hardship, the Baronet and his partizans arrived in Montreal in a pitiable condition — having encountered all of suffering that it seemed possible for man to endure. Such was the precipitation of his departure from the parental hall, and such the deficiency of his means of transportation, that an iron chest, containing the most valuable of his family papers, was hastily buried in the garden.¹ The family Bible, containing the only record

¹ Numerous are the traditions afloat in the Mohawk valley concerning the recovery of this iron chest. The main facts, however, divested of their romance, appear to be these: Late in the autumn of 1778, General Haldimand, at the request of Sir John, sent a party of between forty and fifty men privately to Johnstown to dig up and carry the chest away. The expedition was successful; but the chest not being sufficiently tight to prevent the influence of dampness from the earth, the papers had, many of them, become mouldy, rotten and illegible, when taken up. The information respecting this expedition was derived in the spring following from a man named Helmer, who composed one of the party, and assisted in dis-

of the marriage of his father and mother, and of course the only written evidence of his own legitimacy, was also left behind.¹ Such of the papers as were found, were examined by Colonel Dayton, in compliance with his orders; "and Lady Johnson was removed to Albany, where she was retained as a kind of hostage for the peaceable conduct of her husband. She wrote to General Washington complaining of this detention, and asking his interference for her release; but the commander-in-chief left the matter with General Schuyler and the Albany committee."²

interring the chest. Helmer had fled to Canada with Sir John. While retiring from Johnstown with the chest, he injured his ankle; and by reason of his lameness, went back to his father's house, where he remained concealed until spring, when he was arrested, tried as a spy, and sentenced to death—chiefly on his own admissions to the court. *This information in regard to the recovery of the iron chest, is derived from the minutes of the court-martial, among the papers of General Clinton.*

¹ After the confiscation of the property of Sir John, the furniture of the Hall was sold at auction at Fort Hunter. The late lieutenant governor of New York, John Tayler, purchased several articles of furniture, and among other things the Bible mentioned in the text. Perceiving that it contained the family record, which might be of great value to Sir John, Mr. Tayler wrote a civil note to Sir John, offering its restoration. Some time afterward a messenger from the Baronet called for the Bible, whose conduct was so rude as to give offence. "I have come for Sir William's Bible," said he, "and there are the four guineas which it cost." The Bible was delivered, and the runner was asked what message Sir John had sent. The reply was—"Pay four guineas, and take the book!"—*Letter of John Tayler Cooper (grandson of the lieutenant governor) to the late William L. Stone.*

² In the course of the next year (1777), it was discovered that Lady Johnson was in active and frequent communication with her husband, and that the facilities derived from confidential agents and her powerful connections, enabled her to keep the enemy on either side—in New York and Canada—correctly advised, not only of the movements and designs of each other, but likewise of the situation of American affairs. Under these circumstances, the council, by a formal resolution, ordered and enforced her removal from that part of the country. Sir John, greatly exasperated at the measure, availed himself of a flag to admonish the mover of the resolution, Mr. John Tayler, that should the chances of war throw that gentleman into his possession, he should be instantly delivered over to the fury of the savages. The reply of the councillor was characteristic of the man: "If Mr. Tayler should be so fortunate as to have Sir John Johnson in his power, he should most assuredly be treated as a gentleman." Several attempts were subsequently made by the enemy, probably under the direction of Sir John, to make a captive of that gentleman, but they were all unsuccessful.

Sir John was immediately commissioned a colonel in the British service, and raised a command of two battalions, composed of those who accompanied him in his flight, and other American loyalists who subsequently followed their example. They were called the Royal Greens. In the month of January, 1777, he found his way into New York, then in possession of the British forces. From that period he became not only one of the most active, but one of the bitterest foes of his own countrymen of any who were engaged in that contest—and repeatedly the scourge of his own former neighbors. He was unquestionably a loyalist from principle, else he would scarcely have hazarded, as he did, and ultimately lost, domains larger and fairer than probably ever belonged to a single proprietor in America, William Penn only excepted. But the immediate cause of his breaking his pledge of honor is not known. Perhaps he never intended to keep it; but unexplained as it ever has been, the act has always been regarded as a stain upon the Baronet's character. It was held as such by the Provincial congress of New York, as will be seen by the annexed extract from a letter addressed by that body to General Washington immediately after his flight: "We apprehend no doubt can exist whether the affair of Sir John Johnson is within your immediate cognizance. He held a commission as brigadier general of the militia and, it is said, another commission as major general. That he hath shamefully broken his parole is evident, but whether it would be more proper to have him returned or exchanged, is entirely in your excellency's prudence."

Anxious to serve the cause which he had espoused, Sir John, with his regiment of Royal Greens joined, in the summer of 1777, the expedition of Lieutenant Colonel St. Ledger, against Fort Schuyler, and was present at the memorable siege of that post. The successful defence of the fort by Colonel Gansevoort, and the defeat of the royal forces at Oriskany by General Herkimer, need not here be detailed. It is sufficient to say that Sir John's first attempt to serve the cause of the crown in a military capacity was a failure, and on the appearance of Arnold to the relief of the besieged, St. Ledger and Sir John, with their shattered forces, retreated into Canada, the laughing-stock of their Indian allies.¹

Mortified at his failure, and burning with hatred against those of his former neighbors who espoused the side of the colonies, Sir

¹ For a detailed account of the siege of Fort Schuyler, and the battle of Oriskany, see Stone's *Life of Brant*, Vol. I.

John made two incursions upon the Mohawk valley during the remainder of the war. His first blow was as sudden as it was unexpected. On Sunday, the 21st of May, 1780, he entered the north part of Johnstown at the head of five hundred men, composed of some British troops, a detachment of his own regiment of Royal Greens, and about two hundred Indians and Tories. Sir John had penetrated the country by way of Lake Champlain to Crown Point, and thence through the woods by way of Crane mountain (in the present town of Thurman, in Warren county), to the Sacandaga river; and so entirely unawares had he stolen upon the sleeping inhabitants, that he arrived in the heart of the country undiscovered, except by the resident loyalists, who were probably in the secret. Before he reached the old baronial hall at Johnstown—the home of his youth, and for the recovery of which he made every exertion that courage and enterprise could put forth—Sir John divided his forces into two detachments, leading one in person, in the first instance, directly to the Hall, and thence through the village of Johnstown, while the other was sent through a more eastern settlement to strike the Mohawk river at or below Tribe's Hill, whence it was directed to sweep up the river through the ancient Dutch village of Caughnawaga to the Cayadutta creek—at which place a junction was to be formed with Sir John himself. This disposition of his forces was made at the still hour of midnight—a time when the inhabitants were not only buried in slumber, but wholly unsuspecting of approaching danger. What officer was in command of the eastern division is not known, but it was one of the most stealthy and murderous expeditions—murderous in its character, though but few were killed—and the most disgraceful, too, that marked the progress of the war in that region. During the night-march of this division, and before reaching the river, they attacked the house of Mr. Lodowick Putnam, who, together with his son, was killed and scalped. The house of a Mr. Stevens was then assailed and burnt, and its owner killed. Arriving at Tribe's Hill, they murdered three men by the names of Hansen, Platts, and Aldridge. Hansen, who was a captain of militia, was killed by an Indian to whom he had formerly shown great kindness, and who had in return expressed much gratitude. The houses of all, it is believed, were plundered before the application of the torch. Proceeding toward Caughnawaga, about dawn, they arrived at the house of Colonel Visscher—occupied at the time by himself, his

mother, and his two brothers. It was immediately assailed. Alarmed at the sounds without, the colonel instantly surmised the cause, and being armed, determined, with his brothers, to defend the house to the last. They fought bravely for a time, but the odds were so fearfully against them that the house was soon carried by storm. The three brothers were instantly stricken down and scalped, and the torch applied to the house. Having thus completed their work, the enemy proceeded on their way up the river. Fortunately, however, the colonel himself was only wounded. But grievously wounded as he was, he succeeded in removing the mangled bodies of his two brothers from the house before the burning timbers fell in. His own wounds were dressed, and he lived many years afterward. Mrs. Visscher, his aged mother, was also severely wounded by being knocked on the head by the hatchet of an Indian, but she also survived. The slaughter along the Mohawk, to the village of Caughnawaga, would have been greater, but for the alertness of Major Van Vrank, who, eluding the enemy, ran ahead and gave the alarm, thus enabling many of the inhabitants to fly across the river.

Meantime Sir John proceeded with his division through the village of Johnstown, stopping before it was yet light at what was once his own hall, where he made two prisoners. Directing his course for the confluence of the Cayadutta with the Mohawk, Sir John arrived at the residence of Sampson Sammons, a staunch whig. The eldest of Mr. Sammons's sons was then the lessee of the Johnson farm at the Hall, which had been sold by the committee of sequestrations, and which he was then cultivating; and Thomas, the youngest, had risen at an unwonted hour in order to feed his horses, and go over to the Hall to work with his brother. As he passed out of the house a hand was laid upon his shoulder, with the words—"You are my prisoner!" In such perfect stillness had the enemy approached, that not a sound of a footstep was heard, until the younger Sammons was thus arrested, and the house immediately surrounded. One of the officers, with several soldiers, instantly entered the house, and ordered the family to get up, and surrender themselves as prisoners. Two other sons, Jacob and Frederick, who were in bed in the second story, sprang upon their feet immediately, and seized their arms. The officer, who was a Tory, and acquainted with the family, called to them by name, and promised quarter on condition of their surrender. Jacob inquired whether there were Indians with them, adding, that if there were,

he and his brother would not be taken alive. On being assured to the contrary, the brothers descended the stairs and surrendered. The females were not taken as prisoners, but the father and sons were directed to make ready to march forthwith; and the house having been thoroughly ransacked for plunder, Sir John, with his troops and prisoners, proceeded to the river at Caughnawaga. The whole army now set their faces westward, traversing the Mohawk valley several miles, burning every building not owned by a loyalist, killing sheep and black cattle, and taking all the horses that could be found for their own use. Returning again to Caughnawaga, the torch was applied to every building, excepting the church; a number of prisoners were made, and several persons killed. Nine aged men were slain in the course of this march, of whom four were upwards of eighty. From Caughnawaga Sir John retraced his steps to Johnstown, passing the premises of Mr. Sammons, where the work of destruction was completed by firing all the buildings, leaving the females of the family houseless, and taking away the seven horses which were in the stables.

On the arrival of Sir John back to the homestead, in the afternoon, he halted upon the adjacent grounds for several hours,—establishing his own quarters in the hall of his father. The prisoners were collected in an open field, strongly guarded, but not in a confined space; and while reposing thus, the Tory families of the town came in large numbers to see their friends and relatives, who for the most part constituted the white troops of the invading army.

The immediate object of this raid by Sir John was to procure his plate, which had been buried at the time of his flight from the Hall, and not recovered with the iron chest. The treasure was not indeed buried with the chest, (as many have believed) but in the cellar, and the place of deposit was confided to a faithful slave. While Sir John was in the Hall, in the afternoon, the slave, assisted by four soldiers, disinterred the silver, which filled two barrels, brought it to the Baronet and laid it down at his feet.¹ It was then distributed among about forty soldiers, who placed it in their

¹ This faithful domestic had lived long with Sir William Johnson, who was so much attached to him that he caused him to be baptized by his own name, William. When the estate was placed in the hands of Sammons by the committee, William was sold, and Sammons was the purchaser. He lived with him until retaken by Sir John, but never gave the least hint either as to the burial of the iron chest, or the plate, although both had been hidden in the earth by him.

knapsacks—a quarter-master taking an account of the names of the soldiers, and the articles confided to each—by whom it was carried to Montreal. The raid, however, was one of the most indefensible aggressions upon an unarmed and slumbering people, which stain the annals of the British arms. As the commanding officer, Sir John is himself to be held responsible in a general sense. How far he was directly and specially responsible for the midnight murders committed by his barbarians, red and white, is a question which may, perhaps, bear a somewhat different shade. Still, from the success which attended the expedition, and the unaccountable inaction of the people against him, it is sufficiently obvious that he might have recovered his plate without lighting up his path by the conflagration of his neighbors' houses, or without staining his skirts with innocent blood. But the most remarkable circumstances attending this expedition are, that the inhabitants were so completely taken by surprise, and that Sir John was so entirely unopposed in his advance on the morning of the twenty-second, and altogether unmolested on his retreat. The inhabitants who had so often proved themselves brave, appear to have been not only surprised, but panic-stricken. True, as already observed, before Sir John began his return march, the militia had begun to gather at the village, a mile distant from the Hall. They were led by Colonel John Harper, who was beyond doubt a very brave man. With him was also Colonel Volkert Veeder. But they were not strong enough to engage the enemy; and when a rumor came that the enemy exceeded seven hundred men, Colonels Harper and Veeder marched back to the river, and Sir John with many prisoners and much booty, together with twenty of his negro slaves, retired unmolested. On the first rumor of this raid, Governor Clinton hastened with some militia to Lake George and Ticonderoga, with a view of intercepting Sir John. But his efforts were of no avail; the invaders escaped—taking to their bateaux, probably at Crown Point, whence they proceeded down the lake to St. John's. The captives were thence transferred to the fortress of Chamblee.

But the desire of Sir John for vengeance was not yet satiated. Accordingly, late in the same year (1780), another and yet more extensive expedition, both as to the numbers engaged and the object to be accomplished, was planned and carried into execution.

The Indian portion of this expedition was chiefly collected at under his auspices, and that of Joseph Brant, and the famous Seneca warrior, the *Corn Planter*.

Tioga Point, whence they ascended the Susquehanna, where a junction was formed with Sir John, whose forces consisted, besides Mohawks, of three companies of his own regiment of Greens, one company of German jagers, a detachment of two hundred men from Butler's rangers, and one company of British regulars, under the immediate command of Captain Richard Duncan, the son of an opulent gentleman residing, previous to the war, in the neighborhood of Schenectady. The troops of Sir John were collected at Lachine, near Montreal, whence they ascended the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario and Oswego. From this point they crossed the country to the Susquehanna, where they were joined by the Indians and Tories from Tioga. Sir John had with him two small mortars and a brass three-pounder, called a grass-hopper, from the circumstance of its being mounted upon iron legs instead of wheels. These pieces of ordnance were carried through the woods upon pack horses. Every soldier and every Indian was provided with eighty rounds of cartridges.

The course of the invaders—in number about two thousand men—was along the eastern branch of the Susquehanna to its source, and thence across to the head of the Schoharie-kill, for the purpose of making thorough work in the destruction of the continuous chain of settlements through that beautiful valley to its junction with the Mohawk. The enemy had designed to keep the movement a profound secret, until proclaimed by his actual presence. Two of the Oneidas in their service, however, having deserted, frustrated that design by giving information of their approach to the settlements. Whether from weariness of continual alarms, or from ignorance or doubt as to the quarter where the blow was to be struck, or from criminal negligence, cannot be told; but it is certain that the surprise was as complete as the success of the campaign was discreditable to those who did not prevent it.

The plan of Sir John and Captain Brant was to enter the valley by night, pass, if possible, the upper fort unobserved, and then, by silently destroying the intervening settlements, attack the middle fort, at Middleburgh, early in the morning. This fort was garrisoned by about one hundred and fifty state troops, called three months men, exclusive of some fifty militia-men—the whole under the command of Major Woolsey,¹ who, from all accounts, appears to have been an inefficient officer, and by some writers has been repre-

¹ Manuscript statement of Phillip Graft, in the author's possession.

sented as the most miserable of poltroons.¹ The design of passing the upper fort unperceived was, in part, successful; nor was the enemy's approach to the middle fortress discovered until just at break of day, on the morning of the 16th of October, when a sentinel, named Philip Graft, standing upon the parapet of a mud wall, discovered a fire kindling in some buildings not more than a quarter of a mile distant. Calling to the sergeant of the guard, he communicated the discovery through him to the commanding officer. The drums at once beat to arms, and Major Woolsey requested forty volunteers to sally forth and discover the cause of the alarm. Every man on duty promptly responded to the invitation, and the complement was thereupon counted off from the right, and sent out in charge of Lieutenant Spencer. The little band proceeded with alacrity in the direction of the burning buildings, until they suddenly encountered the enemy's advance. Three shots were exchanged, when Spencer retreated, and brought his detachment back into the fort without the loss of a man.² At this moment the concerted signal of three guns from the upper fort came rolling down the gorge of the mountain, from which it was evident that the enemy had passed that fortress without molesting it. A proper degree of vigilance, however, ought certainly to have enabled the sentinels of that garrison to observe the advance of the invading army, instead of merely catching a glimpse of its rear. The moment the enemy had thus been discovered, front and rear, concealment of his approach being no longer possible, the torch was indiscriminately applied to such houses and barns as came in his way. The season had been bountiful, the rich alluvial bottoms of the Schohariekill producing an unusually abundant harvest that year. The barns were therefore well stored with the earlier grains, while the fields were yet heavily burdened with the autumnal crops. But the husbandmen in the neighborhood, or those lodging for greater security in the little apology for a fortress, looked abroad at sunrise to behold the produce of their industry in flames.

Soon after sunrise the main forces of the enemy had arrived, and

¹ "Woolsey's presence of mind forsook him in the hour of danger. He concealed himself at first with the women and children in the house, and when driven out by the ridicule of his new associates, he crawled round the intrenchments on his hands and knees, amid the jeers and bravos of the militia, who felt their courage revive as their laughter was excited by the cowardice of their major."—*Campbell's Annals*.

² Manuscript statement of Phillip Graft.

the fort was completely invested. A column of troops, with the pieces of light artillery heretofore mentioned, passed round the north-east side of the fort, and planted their guns upon an eminence commanding the American works. An officer with a flag was now despatched toward the garrison, and from the moment he was seen, an order was given to cease firing. All was silent until he had approached to within the distance of a fair rifle shot, when the reader's old acquaintance, Murphy, recently of Morgan's rifle corps, but now making war on his own responsibility, expressed a determination to shoot down the officer by whom the flag was borne. He was instantly ordered by the officers of the regular troops to forbear. But the militia irregulars encouraged him to persist in his mutinous determination. He did so; but for once his rifle was untrue, and the flag-officer immediately faced about and retired to his own ranks.

Sir John thereupon opened his artillery upon the fort, while the Indians and rangers kept up a brisk fire of musketry — both without much effect. The enemy's field pieces were probably of too small calibre for the distance, and the shells were thrown with so little skill, for the most part, as either to fall short, or fly over the works, or to explode in the air. Two shells, however, fell upon the roof of the house within the fort, one of which was precipitated down into a room occupied by two sick women. It sank into a feather bed, and exploded — but without inflicting farther injury. Fire was communicated to the roof of the building by the other shell, and was extinguished with a single pail of water carried up and applied by Philip Graft. Unfortunately the garrison was unable to return the fire with spirit, for the want of powder. The regular troops had only a few rounds each, and the militia were but little better provided in that respect. Messengers had been despatched to Albany on the preceding day for ammunition, and also for reinforcements; but neither had yet been received, so that the fort was but ill prepared for protracted or efficient resistance. But of this destitution the enemy was of course ignorant; and the shooting at his flag-officer may have been, and probably was, construed by Sir John as evidence of a determination to make no terms. Expecting a desperate resistance, therefore, the Baronet may, from that circumstance, have proceeded with greater caution.

It was indeed a singular siege. The enemy, spreading over the whole of the little plain, were now occupied in feeble attacks upon the fort, and now dispersing in small detachments to plunder another

farm house and burn another corn stack. There was one large barn, situated near the fort, and around which stood a circle of stacks of wheat. These the enemy attempted several times to fire, but Lieutenant Spencer sallied forth with his little band of forty, and so gallantly protected the property, that the enemy reluctantly abandoned his design upon that point. Spencer was fired upon briskly in this sortie, but lost only one of his men.

In the course of the forenoon, another flag was despatched toward the fort by Sir John, which Murphy again determined to shoot down the moment the officer came within range of his trusty rifle. Major Woolsey and the officers interposed, but the militia again rallied round Murphy; and although one of the officers drew his sword, and threatened to run the offender through if he persisted, yet the rifleman coolly replied that he had no confidence in the commanding officer, who he believed intended to surrender the fort; that, if taken, he knew well what his own fate would be, and he would not be taken alive. As the flag approached, therefore, he fired again, but happily without effect; and the flag officer once more returned to the headquarters of Sir John.¹ When the officers of the regular troops remonstrated against such a barbarous violation of the usages of honorable war, the militia soldiers replied they were dealing with a foe who paid no regard to such usages; and, however strictly they might observe the rules of war and of etiquette themselves, the besiegers would be the last men to exhibit a corresponding course of conduct in the event of their success. The wailings of plundered and murdered families without the fort, and the columns of smoke and flame then ascending to the heavens, afforded ample testimony of the truth of their position. "The savages, and their companions, the Tories, still more savage than they, had shown no respect to age, sex, or condition; and it was not without force that the question was repeated, are we bound to exercise a forbearance totally unreciprocated by the enemy?" "Besides," it was added, "let us show that we will neither take nor give quarters; and the enemy, discovering our desperation, will most likely withdraw."²

The desultory battle was again renewed — small parties of the garrison occasionally watching opportunities to sally forth and do what mischief they could to the enemy, retreating within the gates

¹Statement of Philip Graft.

²The Sexagenary.

again when likely to be borne down by superior numbers. Sir John perceiving at length that neither shot nor shells made any impression upon the garrison, formed his disciplined troops under shelter of a small building more immediately in the neighborhood of the fort, and prepared for an attempt to carry it by assault. A flag again approached, and Murphy brought up his rifle to fire upon it the third time. He was admonished, as before, to desist, and an effort was made to arrest him. But he was a universal favorite, and the soldiers would not allow the procedure. A white flag was then ordered to be raised from the fort, but Murphy threatened instant death to any one who obeyed the direction; and as the enemy's flag continued to approach, he was again preparing his piece, when an officer once more interposed. Captain Reghtmeyer, of the militia, standing by the side of Murphy, gave him the order to fire. The continental officer made a demonstration toward Reghtmeyer, by attempting to draw his sword; but immediately desisted as the latter clubbed his fusée, and gave an impressive motion with its breech, of an import not to be misunderstood; whereupon the major stepped back, and there the matter ended.¹ The officer bearing the flag, having been thus a third time repulsed, Sir John convened a council of war, and after a brief consultation, abandoned the siege, and proceeded on his vandal march down the valley. The reason of his hasty change of purpose has never been known. Some have asserted that a pretended loyalist gave the Baronet an exaggerated account of the strength of the garrison and its means of resistance.² Others have said that rumors of approaching reinforcements induced him to hasten forward, lest his projected march of desolation should be interrupted. But it is likely that the repeated violations of the flag had created an impression that such an indomitable garrison might not prudently be engaged steel to steel and hand to hand, by assailants not to be relied upon with much confidence in such emergencies.

The march of the invaders was rapid in the direction of Fort Hunter, at the confluence of the Schohariekill with the Mohawk river, in the course of which they destroyed the buildings and produce of every agricultural description.³ On arriving in the vicinity

¹ The Sexagenary.

² Campbell.

³ The destruction of grain was so great as to threaten the most alarming consequences, in respect to the forming of magazines for the public service at the north. But for that event, the settlement of Schoharie, alone, would have delivered eighty thousand bushels of grain.—*Letter of Washington to the President of Congress, Nov. 7, 1780.*

of the lower fort at Old Schoharie, Sir John divided his forces — the regulars continuing down on the bank of the creek to the left of the fort, while the Indians skirted the meadows half a mile distant on the right. Having thus gained the north side of the fort, they made a stand for a brief space of time, and a few shots were interchanged. Some sharp shooters having been stationed in the tower of the church, the enemy brought one of their field-pieces to bear upon it. A single shot only struck, which lodged in the cornice, and a discharge of grape from the fort drove the invaders back,¹ whereupon their march was resumed and continued to Fort Hunter, at which place they arrived in the night without interruption. In their course the whole valley was laid in ruins. The houses and barns were burnt, the horses and cattle killed or taken, and those of the inhabitants who were not safely within the walls of their little fortifications, were either killed or carried into captivity. Not a building, known by the Indians and Tories to belong to a Whig, was saved. Sir John had ordered his forces to spare the church at the upper fort, but his mandate was disobeyed, and the structure was laid in ashes. The houses of the loyalists were passed unmolested, but exasperated by the destruction of their own habitations, the Whigs soon caused these to be numbered in the common lot.² Thus was the whole valley of the Schohariekill made desolate.

The loss of the Americans at the forts was very trifling. Only two were killed, and one wounded, at the middle fort, and none at the lower. But of the unprotected inhabitants, numbers — according to some accounts, one hundred — were killed. There were some individual occurrences during the day, moreover, which are worthy of being specially noted. It happened early in the morning, that John Vrooman and two of his neighbors were upon a scout in the woods, about eight miles from the fort, when they discovered an Indian. Vrooman fired, and the Indian fell. At the same instant, another Indian was discovered through the bushes, who was also brought down by one of Vrooman's companions. A third savage was now seen, but as Vrooman's third companion hesitated about firing, Vrooman himself snatched his rifle from him, and brought the warrior also to the ground. At the same instant—for it was all the work of a moment—up rose from the ground a group of

¹ The Indians spared one house, from the consideration that it had formerly been occupied at one of their treaties.

² Campbell's Annals.

Indians and Tories, who set upon them with a terrible yell. Vrooman and his companions fled in different directions at the top of their speed, and succeeded, by reason of their wind and bottom, and their zig zag flights, in making their escape. It was noon when the former reached his own home,—only to behold his house in flames. His wife and her mother were made captives by an Indian named Seth Hendrick, who had formerly resided in Schoharie; but they were released and sent back on the following day, by Captain Brant, together with a letter written upon birch bark, explaining his reason for allowing their return.¹

One of the farmers, on that day, while engaged with his boys in unloading a wagon of grain at the barn, hearing a shriek, looked about, and saw a party of Indians and Tories between himself and the house. “The enemy, my boys!” said the father, and sprang from the wagon, but in attempting to leap the fence, a rifle ball brought him dead upon the spot. The shriek had proceeded from his wife, who, in coming from the garden, had discovered the savages, and screamed to give the alarm. She was struck down by a tomahawk. Her little son, five years old, who had been playing about the wagon, ran up to his mother, in an agony of grief, as she lay weltering in blood, and was knocked on the head, and left dead by the side of his parent. The two other boys were carried away into Canada, and did not return until after the war.²

¹ The Sexagenary. The Vroomans were an extensive family in the Schoharie settlements, and were severe sufferers. In the last preceding chapter but one, the boastings of Becraft, who had murdered one entire family of that name, have been noted. During the present expedition, the following persons, among others, were murdered, viz: Tunis Vrooman, his wife and son; while at the same time Ephraim Vrooman and his two sons, Bartholomew and Josias, John Vrooman, Martin Vrooman, Bartholomew Vrooman, Jun., Simon Vrooman, his wife and his son Jacob, were taken prisoners and carried to Canada.—*Giles F. Yates.*

² The Sexagenary. “Ephraim Vrooman himself was carried away by Seth Hendrick, who treated him with much kindness by the way. There were two or three other Indians in the immediate party with Seth. These, before they arrived at their place of destination, grew tired of their prisoner, and proposed to dispatch him. Mr. Vrooman overheard the conversation, which was conducted in a whisper, and repeated it to Hendrick. Hendrick assured him, in the most positive manner, that ‘not a hair of his head should be touched,’ and gave his companions a severe reprimand for their ungenerous conspiracy. After the termination of the revolutionary contest, Hendrick paid Mr. Vrooman a visit, and apologized for his conduct during the war, in the strong metaphorical language of his nation. The

The family of Ephraim Vrooman was also particularly unfortunate. He was at work in the field when he first discovered a straggling party of the enemy approaching. He started at full speed for his house, in order to obtain his arms, and sell his life as dearly as possible. But in climbing a fence he was seized, and taken prisoner. His wife, in endeavoring to escape by flight, was shot dead before his eyes. As she fell, her little daughter, aged eleven years, ran up, and cast herself down by the side of her dying parent, as clinging to her for protection, when an Indian came up, and added to the agony of the father and the crimes of the day, by crushing her head with a stone.¹

There was an aged man in the middle fort who performed a bold exploit. He was the owner of a mill about two miles distant, at which his son had passed the night. Knowing that some one or more of the enemy's plundering parties would assuredly visit the mill, at the instant Lieutenant Spencer's party encountered Sir John's advance guard in the morning, the old man sallied out and hastened to the rescue of his son. Mounting each a horse to return to the fort, they found it already invested by the enemy on their arrival. Nothing daunted, however, they passed within a hundred yards of the enemy at full speed, dashed up to the rear of the fort, and were received in safety.²

There was another incident transpiring at the fort which stands in happy contrast with the conduct of the commanding major. The females within the fortress are said to have displayed a degree of heroism worthy of commendation and of all praise. Being well provided with arms, they were determined to use them in case of an attempt to carry the works by storm. One of them, an interesting young woman, whose name yet lives in story among her own mountains, perceiving, as she thought, symptoms of fear in a soldier who had been ordered to a well without the works, and within range of the enemy's fire, for water, snatched the bucket from his hands, and ran forth for it herself. Without changing color, or giving the slightest evidence of fear, she drew and brought bucket after bucket to the thirsty soldiers, and providentially escaped without injury.³

tomahawk, said he, is used only in war; in time of peace it is buried—it cuts down the sturdy oak as well as the tender vine; but I (laying his hand on Mr. V's shoulder,) saved the oak."—*Giles F. Yates.*

¹ The Sexagenary.

² The Sexagenary.

³ Idem.

Sir John remained in the neighborhood of Fort Hunter on the seventeenth, continuing the work of destruction in every possible direction. On the evening of that day Captain Duncan crossed the river with three companies of the Greens and some Indians. On the morning of the eighteenth, all that had been left standing of Caughnawaga at the time of the irruption of Sir John in the preceding spring, and all that had been rebuilt, was ruthlessly destroyed by fire. A simultaneous and most desolating march up the river was then commenced by Sir John and the main body of his forces on the south side of the river, and by Captain Duncan's division on the north. As at Schoharie, the march of both was one of entire devastation. Rapine and plunder were the order of the day, and both shores of the Mohawk were lighted up by the conflagration of every thing combustible; while the panic-stricken inhabitants only escaped slaughter or captivity by flight—they knew not whither.¹ Conspicuous among the sufferers was Major Jelles Fonda, a faithful and confidential officer under the father of Sir John; but who, having turned his back upon the royal cause, was singled out as a special and signal mark of vengeance. His mansion at The Nose, in the town of Palatine, was destroyed, together with property to the amount of sixty thousand dollars. The major was himself absent.² His wife escaped under the curtain of a thick fog, and made her way on foot, twenty-six miles, to Schenectady.³ Sir John encamped with his forces on the night of the eighteenth nearly opposite, or rather above, the Nose. On the following morning he crossed the river to the north side, at Keeder's rifts. The greater part of the motley army continued its progress directly up the river, laying waste the country as before. A detachment of one hundred and fifty men was, however, dispatched from Keeder's rifts against the small stockade called Fort Paris, in Stone Arabia, some two or three miles back from the river, north of Palatine. But, after marching about two miles, the main body also wheeled off to the right, to assist in attacking the fort. The work of devastation was continued, also, in this direction, as at other places.

The small fort just mentioned was at this time in command of Colonel Brown, with a garrison of one hundred and thirty men. An unfortunate occurrence induced him to leave his defences, and resulted in his discomfiture and fall. The circumstances, were

¹ Manuscript of Major Thomas Sammons.

² In the State Senate, the legislature being then in session at Poughkeepsie

³ Antiquarian researches, by Giles F. Yates.

these;—the moment tidings that Sir John had broken into the settlements of the Schoharie reached Albany, General Robert Van Rensselaer, of Claverack, at the head of the Claverack, Albany, and Schenectady militia, pushed on by forced marches to encounter him, accompanied by Governor Clinton. Having arrived at Cangh-nawaga on the eighteenth, and having likewise ascertained that Fort Paris was to be assaulted on the morning of the nineteenth, Van Rensselaer dispatched orders to Colonel Brown to march out and check the advance of the enemy, while at the same time he would be ready to fall upon his rear. Brown, faithful to the hour designated, sallied forth, and gave Sir John battle near the site of a former work, called Fort Keyser. But General Van Rensselaer's advance had been impeded, so that no diversion was created in Brown's favor; and his forces were too feeble to withstand the enemy, or even to check his progress. Colonel Brown fell gallantly at the head of his little division, of which from forty to forty-five were also slain. The remainder of his troops sought safety in flight.

After the fall of Colonel Brown, and the defeat of his troops, Sir John dispersed his forces in small bands, to the distance of five or six miles in all directions, to pillage and destroy. Late in the afternoon he reunited his troops, and leaving Stone Arabia a desert, marched back to the river road, east of Caroga creek. The detachment of Captain Duncan having come up, Sir John again moved toward the west. There was a small defence not far from the mouth of the creek, called Fox's fort. Avoiding this work by diverging from the road to the margin of the river on the left, Sir John continued his course three miles farther, to a place called Klock's field, where, from the fatigue of his troops, and the overburthens of provisions and plunder with which they were laden, it became necessary to halt.

General Van Rensselaer was now close in pursuit of Sir John, with a strong force. Indeed, he ought to have overtaken him in the early part of the day, since he had encamped the night before on the south side of the river, at Van Epp's, nearly opposite Caugh-nawaga, while Sir John himself was encamped opposite the Nose, only two or three miles farther up the river. Sir John's troops, moreover, were exhausted by forced marches, active service and heavy knapsacks, while those of Van Rensselaer were fresh in the field. On the morning of the same day, while continuing his march on the south side of the river, Van Rensselaer was joined by Captain M'Kean, with some eighty volunteers, together with a strong

body of Oneida warriors, led by their principal chief, Louis Atayataroughta, who, as stated in a former chapter, had been commissioned a lieutenant colonel by congress. With these additions, the command of General Van Rensselaer numbered about fifteen hundred — a force in every way superior to that of the enemy.

Sir John had stationed a guard of forty men at the ford to dispute its passage. On approaching this point, General Van Rensselaer halted, and did not again advance until the guard of the enemy had been withdrawn. Continuing his march, still upon the south side of the river, while the enemy was actively engaged in the work of death and destruction on the north, Van Rensselaer arrived opposite the battle ground where Brown had fallen, before the firing had ceased, and while the savage war-whoop was yet resounding. This was at 11 o'clock in the morning, and the Americans came to a halt about three miles below Caroga creek, still on the south side. While there, some of the fugitives from Colonel Brown's regiment came running down, and jumping into the river, forded it without difficulty. As they came to the south bank, the general inquired whence they came. One of them, a militia officer named Van Allen, replied that they had escaped from Brown's battle. "How has it gone?" "Colonel Brown is killed with many of his men. Are you not going there?" "I am not acquainted with the fording-place," said the general. He was answered that there was no difficulty in the case. The general then inquired of Van Allen if he would return as a pilot, and the reply was promptly in the affirmative. Hereupon Captain M'Kean and the Oneida chief led their respective commands through the river to the north side, expecting the main army immediately to follow. At this moment Colonel Dubois, of the State levies, rode up to the general, who immediately mounted his horse, and instead of crossing the river, accompanied the colonel to Fort Plain, some distance above, to dinner, as it was understood. Meantime the baggage wagons were driven into the river, to serve in part as a bridge for the main body of Van Rensselaer's forces, and they commenced crossing the stream in single files. The passage in this way was not effected until four o'clock in the afternoon, at which time the general returned and joined them, just as the last man had crossed over. Governor Clinton remained at the fort. As the general arrived at the water's edge, Colonel Louis, as the Oneida chieftain was called, shook his sword at him, and denounced him as a Tory. Arrived on the north side, Colonel William Harper took

the liberty of remonstrating with the general at what he conceived to be a great and unnecessary delay, attended with a needless loss of life and property, on the part of the inhabitants who had been suffered thus long to remain unprotected. From that moment Van Rensselaer moved with due expedition. The troops were set in motion, and marched in regular order, in three divisions, with the exception of the Oneida warriors and the volunteers under M'Kean, who regulated their own movements as they pleased—showing no disposition, however, to lag behind. The advance was led by Colonel Morgan Lewis.

Anticipating that he should be compelled to receive an attack, Sir John had made his dispositions accordingly. His regular troops, Butler's rangers, and the Tories less regularly organized, were posted on a small alluvial plain, partly encompassed by a sweeping bend of the river. A slight breast-work had been hastily thrown across the neck of the little peninsula thus formed, for the protection of his troops, and the Indians, under Thayendanegea, were secreted among the thick scrub oaks covering the table land of a few feet elevation yet farther north. A detachment of General Yagers supported the Indians.¹

It was near the close of the day when Van Rensselaer arrived, and the battle was immediately commenced in the open field. Two of the advancing divisions of state troops, forming the left, were directed against the regular forces of Sir John on the flats, commencing their firing from a great distance, with small arms only—the field pieces not having been taken across the river. Colonel Dubois commanded the extreme right, which was so far extended that he had no enemies to encounter. Next to him were M'Kean's volunteers and the Oneida Indians, whose duty it was to attack Thayendanegea's Indians and the Yagers. They were supported by a small corps of infantry, commanded by Colonel Morgan Lewis. The American left was commanded by Colonel Cuyler, of Albany. Sir John's right was formed of a company of regular troops. His own regiment of Greens composed the centre, its left resting upon the ambuscading Indians. The latter first sounded the war-whoop, which was promptly answered by the Oneidas. Both parties eagerly rushed forward, and the attack, for the instant, was mutually impetuous. Dubois, though too far extended, brought his regiment speedily to the support of M'Kean's volunteers, who were following

¹ These Yagers were a sort of rifle corps—using short rifles.

up the attack of the Oneidas. The hostile Indians manifested a disposition to stand for a few moments; but Dubois had no sooner charged closely upon them than they fled with precipitation to the fording place near the upper Indian castle, about two miles above — crossing the road in their flight, and throwing themselves in the rear of the Greens as a cover. The Mohawk chief was wounded in the heel, but not so badly as to prevent his escape.

The enemy's regular troops and rangers, however, fought with spirit, although Sir John himself was reported by some to have fled with the Indians.¹ On the flight of the Indians, Major Van Benschoten, of Dubois's regiment, hastened to the general for permission to pursue the flying enemy. It was just twilight; and the indications were not to be mistaken that the best portion of the enemy's forces were in confusion, and on the point of being conquered. The disappointment was therefore great, when, instead of allowing a pursuit of the Indians, or charging upon the feeble breast-work on the flats, and thus finishing the battle, General Van Rensselaer ordered his forces to retire for the night. His object was to obtain a better position for a bivouac, and to renew and complete the battle in the morning — for which purpose he fell back nearly three miles, to Fox's fort. His troops were not only disappointed, but highly incensed at this order, believing that the contest might have been victoriously ended in a very few minutes. Indeed, the brave Colonel Louis, of the Oneidas, together with Colonel Clyde and Captain M'Kean, refused to retreat, but sheltered themselves in the adjacent buildings — hanging upon the enemy's lines several hours, and making some prisoners. In the course of the evening, Clyde, with a handful of Schoharie militia, succeeded in capturing one of the enemy's field-pieces. The Americans were still more chagrined on learning from one of the prisoners that the troops of Sir John were on the point of capitulating at the very moment of Van Rensselaer's order to retreat. And from the fact that the river was alike too rapid and too deep, where it curved round the battle field, to admit of an escape in that direction, no doubt can be entertained that the enemy had been entirely within their power. But it was

¹ Major Thomas Simmons, from whose manuscripts the author has chiefly drawn the facts of this portion of the narrative — i. e. after the arrival of General Van Rensselaer at Van Epps's — is positive in his declarations that the British commander was among the first to flee. Other accounts speak differently. Major Simmons was in the battle, among the volunteers of M'Kean.

now too late. The golden opportunity had been lost. On the morrow's dawn there was no enemy in the field to encounter. Under cover of darkness the Royal Greens and Butler's Rangers had followed the example of the Indians and made good their escape.

Louis, with his warriors, and M'Kean with his volunteers, crossed the river early in the morning, in pursuit. General Van Rensselaer also arrived on the battle ground between 8 and 9 o'clock, for the purpose of completing the work of the preceding day. While he was crossing the river and preparing to follow on, some of M'Kean's volunteers, who were waiting for the main army, in strolling about came upon a little block house, in which they found nine of the enemy who had been made prisoners during the night. One of the party making the discovery was Thomas Sammons, and among the prisoners was a Tory who had been his near neighbor in Johnstown. On being asked how they came there, this man, whose name was Peter Cass, replied — "Why, I am ashamed to tell. Last night, after the battle, we crossed the river. It was dark. We heard the word, 'lay down your arms.' Some of us did so. We were taken, nine of us, and marched into this little fort by seven militia men. We formed the rear of three hundred of Johnson's Greens, who were running promiseously through and over one another. I thought General Van Rensselaer's whole army was upon us. Why did you not take us prisoners yesterday, after Sir John ran off with the Indians and left us? We wanted to surrender."

When Sir John fled from the field with the Indians and Yagers, he doubtless supposed all was lost. He laid his course direct for the Onondaga lake, where his boats had been concealed, pursuing the main road, and making only a slight deviation to the south of the German Flats, to avoid the forts at that place. His Greens and Rangers followed closely upon his heels, and overtook him at Oneida. Van Rensselaer pressed forward in pursuit, with all his forces, as far as Fort Herkimer, where he was overtaken by Governor Clinton, who did not, however, interfere with the command. Louis and M'Kean were now pushed forward in advance, with orders to overtake the fugitive army, if possible, and engage them — Van Rensselaer promising to continue his march with all possible rapidity, and be at hand to support them in the event of an engagement. On the next morning the advance struck the trail of Sir John, and took one of his Indians prisoner. Halting for a short time, Colonel Dubois came up, and urged them forward, repeating the assurances of the General's near approach and sure support. The march of the

advance was then resumed, but they had not proceeded far before they came upon the enemy's deserted encampment—the fires yet burning. The Oneida chief now shook his head, and refused to proceed another step until General Van Rensselaer should make his appearance. There was accordingly a halt for some time, during which a Doctor Allen arrived from the main army, informing the officers that the pursuit had already been abandoned by the General, who was four miles distant on his return march!

The expedition was of course at an end. But fortune had yet another favor in store for Sir John Johnson—to be won without the bloodshed that had attended his desolating course through the Mohawk Valley. Having ascertained where Sir John's boats were concealed, General Van Rensselaer had despatched an express to Fort Schuyler, ordering Captain Vrooman, with a strong detachment, to hasten forward in advance of the enemy, and destroy them. Vrooman lost no time in attempting the execution of his orders; but one of his men falling sick, or feigning himself to be so, at Oneida, was left behind. Sir John soon afterward came up; and being informed by the treacherous invalid of Vrooman's movement, Brant and his Indians, with a detachment of Butler's rangers, were hastened forward in pursuit. They came suddenly upon Vrooman and his troops while they were engaged at dinner, and every man was captured without firing a gun.¹

The last obstacle to his escape having thus been removed, Sir John reached Oswego without molestation. By this third and most formidable irruption into the Mohawk country during the season, Sir John had completed its entire destruction above Schenectady—the principal settlement above the Little Falls having been sacked and burnt two years before. General Van Rensselaer has always been censured for his conduct in this expedition. Indeed his behavior was most extraordinary throughout. On the night before the battle of Klock's field, Sir John was not more than six miles in advance—having left Van Epps's just before dark, where Van Rensselaer arrived and encamped early in the evening; and it was obvious to all that no extraordinary share of energy was required to

¹ Major Sammons; also statement of John More, yet living, who was one of Sir John's soldiers. According to the official returns of Sir John Johnson, this affair of the capture of Captain Vrooman and his detachment took place on the 23d of October, at a place called Canaghsioraga. Two captains and one lieutenant were taken, together with eight non-commissioned officers and forty-five privates. Three privates and one lieutenant were killed,

bring the enemy to an engagement, even before the encounter with Colonel Brown. Major Sammons, at the close of his account of the expedition, remarks with emphasis — “When my father’s buildings were burnt, and my brothers taken prisoners, the pain I felt was not as great as at the conduct of General Robert Van Rensselaer.”¹

But Sir John’s escape, after all, was rather a flight than a retreat; and had it not been for the capture of Vrooman’s detachment—a most unexpected conquest—the visible trophies of his expedition would have been few and dearly purchased. Indubitable evidences were discovered by the pursuers that he was reduced to a most uncomfortable situation; and from the Baronet’s own letter to General Haldimand it appears that there were many missing who it was hoped would find their way to Oswego or Niagara. General Haldimand wrote to his government that Sir John “had destroyed the settlements of Schoharie and Stone Arabia, and laid waste a great extent of country,” which was most true. It was added:—“He had several engagements with the enemy, in which he came off victorious. In one of them, near Stone Arabia, he killed a Colonel Brown, a notorious and active rebel, with about one hundred officers and men.” “I cannot finish without expressing to your lordship the perfect satisfaction which I have from the zeal, spirit, and activity with which Sir John Johnson has conducted this arduous enterprise.”²

At the close of the revolution, Sir John, whose estates had been confiscated and sold by the Provincial congress, retired into Canada, receiving from the crown the appointment of “Superintendent and Inspector General of Indian affairs in British North America.”

¹“With regard to the battle on Klock’s farm, and the facts stated in these papers, I would say that I joined with Captain M’Kean as a volunteer, and met General Van Rensselaer on the south side of the river, opposite Cagh-nawaga, early in the morning; and of my own knowledge I know most of the facts to be as they are stated. I staid with the volunteers after the battle, and held the conversation with the prisoners found in the little block house the next morning, as stated. I was with Captain Kean when he had orders to advance and overtake Sir John, and a short time after saw Doctor Allen, who came to inform us that Van Rensselaer was returning. With regard to the route of Sir John, I received my account from those of his own party who are now living, and men of undoubted veracity.”—*Note of Major Sammons*—1836.

² Letter of Sir Frederic Haldimand to Lord George Germaine, *New Annual Register*, 1781.

While holding this office, considerable dissatisfaction arose between the Indian tribes and the government of the United States upon a question of boundary — the former maintaining that the Ohio river was not to be crossed by the people of the latter. Great Britain, if she did not indeed secretly encourage this feeling, looked on with grim satisfaction at the prospect of a rupture between the Aborigines and the United States. Accordingly, Sir John wrote, in 1787, a letter to Joseph Brant, the tendency of which was to fan anew the embers of controversy, and plunge the Indians into another general war — an object which was despicable in itself, and unworthy alike of his position as a public officer, and of his character as a man. Brant, however, was too shrewd to commit himself irrevocably; and the troubles being finally adjusted, the great war captain of the Six Nations devoted the remainder of his life to the amelioration of his people.

Sir John was for a time a member of the legislative council in Canada. He was never governor of Canada, as has been incorrectly stated; nor did he even hold the office of administrator of the government, which, in the absence of the governor, was often temporarily held by leading men in the council. He visited England shortly before his death, which occurred at his residence in Montreal on the fourth of January 1830. He was succeeded in his title by his eldest surviving son, Adam Gordon. Sir John was the last Provincial grandmaster for the upper district of the colony of New York.

No. X

Disinterment and Reburial of the Remains of Sir William Johnson.

The remains of SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, as stated in the text, were placed in his own private tomb under the altar of the stone church erected by himself. In 1836 this church was destroyed by fire; and when in 1838 it was rebuilt, its site was changed several feet, leaving the place originally occupied by the altar in the open churchyard. The precise location of the tomb was thus lost for several years. In the early summer of 1862, however, Rev. Mr. Kellogg, the rector of the Episcopal church in Johnstown, with praiseworthy zeal, set about discovering the tomb; and after taking measurements was so fortunate as to light upon the tomb by the first shaft sunk. The tomb was found, in a measure, well preserved, although a few of the bricks composing the top had fallen in. A few peices of the mahogany coffin were found together with some wrought nails. A plain gold ring (probably the wedding ring of

Lady Johnson, worn by her husband after her decease,) was also discovered among the remains, marked on the inside,—“June 1739. 16.” The skull and the bones of the legs and arms were in a good state of preservation, which, with the other portions of the skeleton filled a peck measure. Mr. Kellogg had the remains placed in a hollow block of granite and hermetically sealed; and on the seventh of June, 1862, they were replaced in the tomb with appropriate services—the Rt. Rev. Bishop Alonzo Potter, of the state of New York, officiating.

No. XI.

To the Hon. Sir John Johnson, Baronet.

“The address of the field officers, captains and subalterns of the militia regiment, comprchending the inhabitants of Kinderhook and King’s districts.

“Sir:

It is with infinite concern that we reflect on the melancholy event, which calls upon us to pay you the tribute of our respect, in condoling with you on the death of your amiable father.

“A retrospect on the many eminent services of Sir William Johnson to this country, as well in the field as in his other very important departments, cannot fail of eliciting the gratitude of every friend to the British Empire. But in a more especial manner must the sensibility of these frontiers be awakened when they contemplate these abilities by which they have been so often and so long protected from the ravages of a merciless foe, by which the arts and even refinements of civil society have been extended into a rude and inhospitable wilderness, and the unprincipled savage been taught to cultivate the blessings of peace.

Impressed as we are by these sentiments, we cannot help deploring this event as a public calamity, the more so as it has happened at a juncture when we should despair of avoiding the dangers which threaten the safety of a great part of this country, if we did not derive sanguine hopes from the known abilities and influence of the different branches of his very reputable family.

“Nor can we, Sir, help reflecting on those many private virtues which distinguished the character of Sir William Johnson. By his death the poor and indigent have lost their munificent benefactor; and most sincerely do we sympathise with those many unfortunate

! This document was found among the Johnson Manuscript.

persons, whose merit attracted his notice even amidst the frowns of adversity.

"Permit us, Sir, now to declare the grateful sense we entertain of the marks of favor with which we have been honored by your exalted father. His memory will ever be held in the highest veneration among us, and it will be no small alleviation to that undissembled sorrow we feel on this occasion, if you, Sir, would extend the patronage toward us which we have so long received from him.

"KINDERHOOK 23d July, 1774.

CORNELIUS VAN SCHAAK,
H. V. SCHAAK,
ANDRUS WITBECK,
MATHEWS HARDLEY,
WILLIAM WARNER JR.,
ISAAC HARLOW,
HERBERT BALDWIN,
DANIEL BRECK,
AARON KELLOGG,
ASA DOUGLASS,
DAVID WRIGHT,
ABRAHAM VANDERPOOL,
MELGERT VANDERPOOL,
ELISHA PRATT JR.,
JOHN BEEBE JR.,
PHILIP LOISLER,
JOHN DAVIS,
MARTIN BEEBE,
SAMUEL WATERMAN,
LAMBERT BUNGAT,
JOHN D. GOES,

PETER VOSBURGH,
JOHANNIS L. VAN ALLEN,
ABR'M J. VAN VLECK,
EPHRAIM VAN BUREN,
DIRCK GARDENIER,
PETER VAN SLYCK JUN.
JOHN D. VOSBURGH,
JOHN T. VOSBURGH,
STEPHEN VAN ALLEN,
WILLIAM POWERS,
JAMES SKINNER,
LUCAS T. GOES,
MYNDERT VOSBURGH,
CRUGER HUYK JUN.
ISAAC VANDERPOOL,
PETER VAN ALSTYNE,
JOHN W. VAN ALSTYNE,
JOHN PRUYNE,
ELIJAH SKINNER,
LUCAS VAN ALLEN JR.,
LAWRENCE GOES,

BARENT VANDERPOOL."

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